

M E M O I R S
OF THE
COURT OF FRANCE,
DURING THE REIGN OF
L E W I S XIV.
AND THE
REGENCY OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS:

BY

M. ANQUETIL,

REGULAR CANON OF THE CONGREGATION OF FRANCE, &c.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

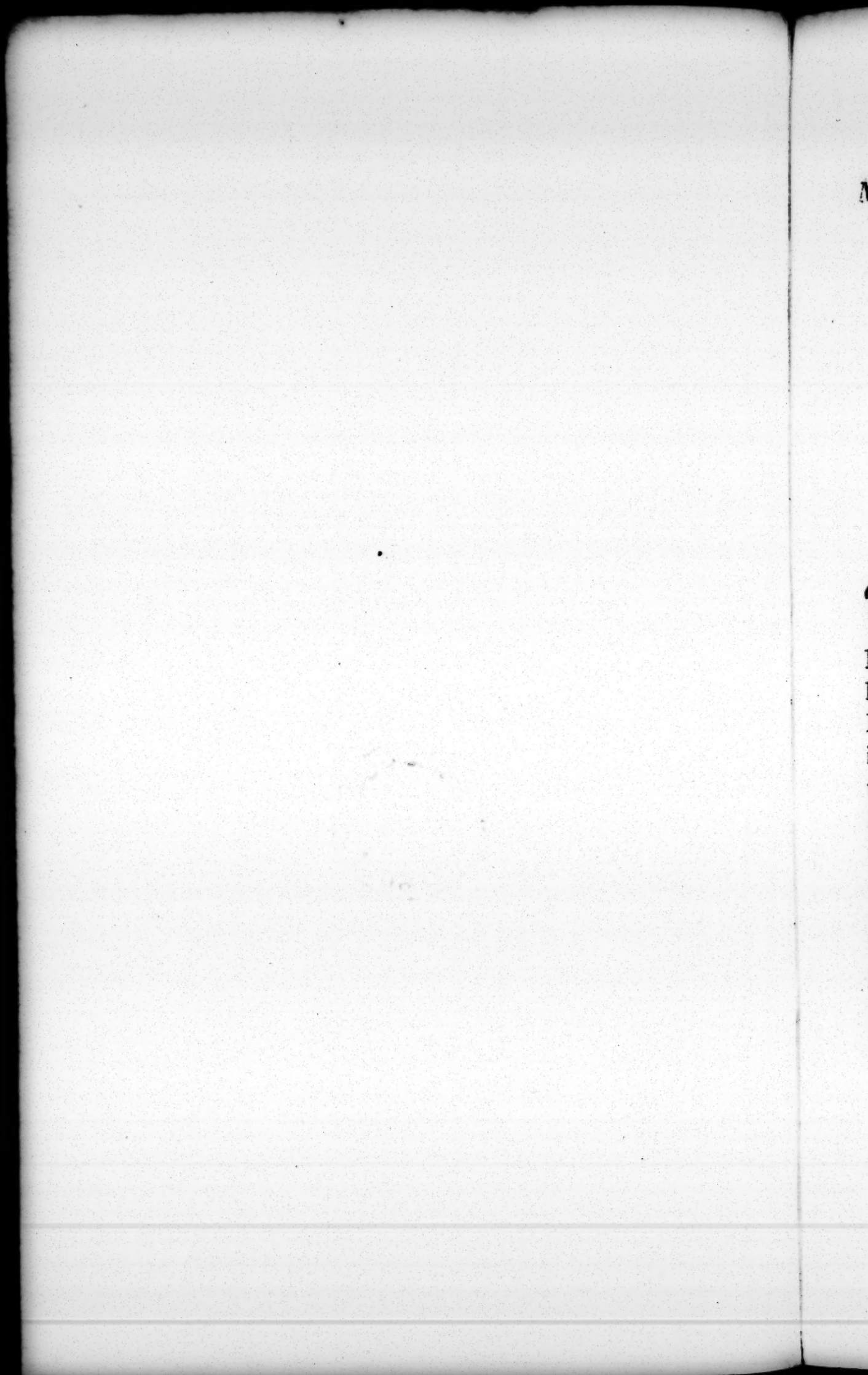
V O L. II.

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MEMOIRS of the COURT of FRANCE,

DURING THE REIGN

O F

L E W I S XIV.

P A R T III.

THERE were several besides Noailles regarded as candidates for the Archbishoprick of Paris ; men whose abilities were generally acknowledged ; and, among others, the celebrated Fenelon *. He was originally of Pengord. Skill in science, and in elegant literature, was hereditary in his family. Bertrand de Salignac de la Motte-Fenelon, when Ambassador in England, refused to excuse to Queen Elizabeth the massacre on St Bartholomew's day. He was much esteemed by Henry IV. and was author of several literary works. The family is reckoned to have produced eight men of letters before the person of whom we are here to give an account.

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Fenelon.

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St

* Dictionnaire de Prosper Marchand, à l'article *Salignac*.

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St Simon †, though he esteemed him much, represents him as an intriguing character in his youth. He seems to have been at first an obscure man, ‘ who, finding himself possessed of ‘ considerable abilities and knowledge, with an ‘ equal share of ambition, long knocked unsuccessfully for admission at every door. He first ‘ made an attempt to recommend himself to the ‘ good graces of the Jesuits. Mortified at finding himself unable to acquire credit among ‘ them, he addressed himself next to the Jansenists, in hopes of distinguishing himself so eminently among *them*, as to make the Jesuits ‘ repent their having neglected him. It was ‘ some time before he was initiated; but, by ‘ degrees, he came to be admitted to the entertainments which some of the heads of the ‘ party used to receive, once or twice a-week, ‘ from the Dutcheſs of Brancas. But they either thought him too refined in his notions, ‘ or he became weary of associating with people who had nothing to share with him but ‘ disgrace, and a mutual coolness took place; in ‘ consequence of which he associated, at St Sulpice, with a party of whom he conceived better hopes. The mildness of his manners, his ‘ arts of insinuation, and the pleasing delicacy ‘ of his wit, endeared him to that congregation. ‘ He found among them what he wanted; people whom he might rally, and who could ‘ bear

* St Simon, t. I. part. pr. p. 70.

‘ bear his raillery, without being disoblighd. PART III.
 ‘ He cultivated their good graces very assidu- 1695.
 ‘ ously; not, however, with the narrow view of
 ‘ fixing himself among them, but solely in the
 ‘ hope of forming, through their means, ac-
 ‘ quaintances and connections that might be
 ‘ useful to him.’

But these interested views, and this artful conduct, seem to be unjustly attributed to Fenelon. He was formed to force his way, without assistance acquired by such arts,—to fly with his own wings. After receiving the earlier part of his education under an uncle, who was Bishop of Scarlat, he was sent to Paris to finish his studies, and placed under the direction of the Abbé Tronson, superior of the seminary of St Sulpice, a man of great merit. It might happen, that the Abbé Fenelon, as his birth and character did not render either peculiarly unsuitable, might both make himself acquainted with the Jansenists, and associate with the Jesuits; and when he found that the liberal turn of his genius would not permit him to become a partisan of either sect, might discontinue the intercourse which he had for a while cultivated.

The Duke de Beauvilliers, a very pious nobleman, was a great friend to the superior of St Sulpice*. The Abbé Fenelon, in consequence of his intimacy with the priests of that seminary, became known to him. ‘ He could

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‘ not

* St Simon, t. 2. p. 104. t. 3. p. 114.

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‘ not help taking notice of the Abbé as a tall
 ‘ well shaped man, with a countenance to which
 ‘ intense study had communicated a pale brown
 ‘ hue, eyes sparkling with fire, and a set of fea-
 ‘ tures which it was impossible to forget after
 ‘ once seeing them. In his features, there was
 ‘ great diversity of expression, yet no contrariety.
 ‘ In them gravity was reconciled with gallant-
 ‘ ry, seriousness with gaiety. He appeared at
 ‘ once the Bishop, the Doctor and the Noble-
 ‘ man. Grace, delicacy, propriety and dignity
 ‘ distinguished his manners. It was difficult to
 ‘ turn your attention from him. All the pic-
 ‘ tures drawn of him were strongly marked
 ‘ with expression, though the painters could ne-
 ‘ ver attain the justness, the harmony, the deli-
 ‘ cacy which the original displayed.

‘ His manners did not counteract the im-
 ‘ pression of his personal appearance. His ease
 ‘ communicated itself imperceptibly to those
 ‘ who conversed with him. That polish which
 ‘ can only be acquired by an acquaintance with
 ‘ high life, and by mixing with the best com-
 ‘ pany, was actually natural to him. In his
 ‘ conversation there was a flow of native elo-
 ‘ quence, of a flowery, insinuating and persua-
 ‘ sive character, set off by an easy and graceful
 ‘ elocution; talents which enable a speaker to
 ‘ make himself readily understood, even on the
 ‘ most intricate subjects. He was not less di-
 ‘ stinguished for a vein of wit, which he ma-
 ‘ naged

‘ naged so judiciously, as to adapt, on all occasions, the quantity and the quality, with the most delicate propriety, to persons and things. You could not think of retiring from his company, nor, when he slipped from you, forbear following him with eagerness.

‘ The Duke de Beauvilliers was charmed with such an assemblage of solid and elegant accomplishments. He could not confine to himself the admiration which they excited, but would have Madame de Maintenon participate in it. She used to dine twice a-week, either at the Hotel de Beauvilliers, or at the Hotel de Chevreuse, in a party consisting only of five persons, the two Dutchessees, who were sisters, their husbands, and herself, with a hand-bell on the table, that their conversation might not be restrained by the presence of servants. This was a sort of sanctuary, to which none of the profane about Court had access. Fenelon was admitted. The purity of his manners acquired him the esteem of the party, his affecting devotion gained their hearts, his mysticism captivated them ; and the Duke de Beauvilliers, accordingly, when appointed governor to the Duke of Burgundy, and left to nominate a preceptor to that young Prince, cast his eyes upon him.

‘ He had some suspicions to remove. Madame de Maintenon took this task upon her. She consulted separately Tronson, and He-

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‘ bert, vicar of Versailles, who answered for
 ‘ the orthodoxy of his doctrines, and his sub-
 ‘ mission to the Church. Father Valois assured
 ‘ her that Fenelon was as good a Jesuit as him-
 ‘ self. Bossuet asserted, that in the second rank
 ‘ of the clergy he knew none that equalled him.
 ‘ She then told the King that it would be a
 ‘ great happiness to the Duke of Burgundy to
 ‘ be educated by a man in whose favour the
 ‘ testimonies of the most opposite characters con-
 ‘ curred ; and Fenelon was nominated preceptor
 ‘ to the Prince.

‘ In his new situation, he conformed entirely
 ‘ to the taste and sentiments of those to whom
 ‘ he owed his advancement. He no longer
 ‘ mixed in such an extensive circle of acquaint-
 ‘ ance, but confined himself to their society,
 ‘ and laboured assiduously under the Duke de
 ‘ Beauvilliers, in the education of their charge.
 ‘ The natural defects in the Duke of Burgun-
 ‘ dy’s character, were such as to afford a very
 ‘ unfavourable presage of his future life. He
 ‘ was so excessively passionate, that he would
 ‘ break the clocks, when they struck an hour
 ‘ that called him to a disagreeable task, and
 ‘ would fall into the most extravagant rage
 ‘ against the rain when it opposed his wishes.
 ‘ Resistance rendered him furious ; and his in-
 ‘ clinations hurried him to every thing that
 ‘ was forbidden. He was excessively fond of
 ‘ pleasure. He had a just sense of ridicule,
 ‘ and

‘ and knew how to return its attacks with the
‘ most pointed irony. His vivacity was extreme;
‘ and it was at first impossible to make him learn
‘ any thing, without suffering him to do *two*
‘ *things at once.*

‘ His most dangerous quality was an intole-
‘ rable pride, arising from his acuteness in lay-
‘ ing hold on the weak part of an argument,
‘ and in perplexing his masters with shrewd
‘ and captious questions. Yet his fallies of
‘ passion gave him always great uneasiness,
‘ after they were past. He became sensible of
‘ his faults, acknowledged them, was angry
‘ with himself, and shewed sometimes a de-
‘ gree of vexation which almost renewed his
‘ former transports. Besides, such was the
‘ quickness, the activity, the penetration of his
‘ genius, and such his perseverance in opposition
‘ to difficulties, that he obtained a decided supe-
‘ riority in every branch of his studies. Reli-
‘ gion and reason effected, by degrees, a happy
‘ alteration on his character, and actually con-
‘ verted his imperfections into the opposite vir-
‘ tues.’

The successful labours of Fenelon, were re-
warded with the Archbishoprick of Cambray;
and happy would he have been, had nothing
but the education of the young Prince engaged
his attention. But he had become infected with
the erroneous opinions of Madame Guyon *, of

Madame
Guyon.

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which

* La Beaumelle, t. 4. p. 1. &c.

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which he was long the apostle, and at last the martyr. She was a young, rich, and beautiful widow, with a warm imagination, and powers for conversation, which, with the help of her refined fancies concerning the pure disinterested love of God, rendered her discourse irresistibly persuasive.

She was only two and twenty when she began to spread her mystic doctrines, about the year 1687. The indifference which she taught for the things of this world, her ideas about divine grace, and the internal tranquillity, which was in some measure the fundamental principle of her doctrines, recommended her to the devotees about Court, who, being weary of the pursuits of pleasure, which were too easy of acquisition, were charmed with the prospect of a mystical bliss. Fenelon saw Madame Guyon, and his soul naturally formed for love, ‘ was intoxicated ‘ *with that pure and refined passion* which she ‘ sought to inspire. They became pleased with ‘ each others sentiments, and united their sublime fancies into one system. I know not if ‘ they had a clear comprehension of that system, ‘ or a precise meaning for the new language ‘ which they invented between them to describe ‘ it.’ But, the obscurity of the terms did not discourage profelytes. They made up in sentiment, what was wanting in expression.

It was not without uneasiness, that Harlai de Chanvalon, Archbishop of Paris, saw a doctrine propagated

propagated in this diocese, which admitted of the same dangerous consequences as the opinions of the Molinists and the ancient Quietists. He obtained orders, first to remove Madame Guyon out of the bounds of his diocese, and afterwards to shut her up in a convent. These measures only contributed to render her more famous. Madame de Maintenon, who did not put great confidence in the knowledge of her Archbishop, or in the purity of his zeal, wished to see the persecuted lady. ‘ Fenelon presented her. At first, her company could not be obtained for more than a few moments. She seemed so entirely devoted to the service of her Creator, so impressed with humility and the love of contemplation, that she could not mix with society, or partake of the splendours of the world, without the utmost uneasiness and solicitude. Madame de Maintenon was much pleased with her. Her reserve, and the delicate flattery which she bestowed, gained that Lady’s heart. She wished to hear her on pious subjects. She refused for a while, and seemed at last only to yield to the charms and the virtue of Madame de Maintenon. Such arts could not be unsuccessful; and accordingly Madame de Maintenon herself introduced her into St Cyr, as a person highly capable of improving the religious sentiments of that seminary.

‘ This protection gave new confidence both to Madame Guyon, and to the little flock which

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‘ which Fenelon had formed, and which was
 ‘ under the direction of the Prophetess; the
 ‘ Dukes of Beauvilliers and Chevreuse, with
 ‘ their ladies, the Dutchess of Mortemart, their
 ‘ sister, Madame de Miertin, her daughter, and
 ‘ the Dutchess de Bethune, the most enthusiastic
 ‘ of the whole. They lived in Paris, and never
 ‘ appeared at Versailles, except for a short and
 ‘ private visit, when the Court were at Marly :
 ‘ The Duke of Burgundy had not begun to visit
 ‘ Marly, and, of consequence, neither his Go-
 ‘ vernor nor his Preceptor came there. Ma-
 ‘ dame Guyon went there by stealth, to give
 ‘ lessons of piety to the ladies. The rest appear-
 ‘ ed as seldom as possible at Court, that they
 ‘ might receive her instructions at home. The
 ‘ sub-governors, and some inferior officers, were
 ‘ admitted; and every thing passed with a pro-
 ‘ found secrecy, which rendered the favour of
 ‘ admission the more valuable.

‘ The nomination of Fenelon to the see of
 ‘ Cambray, was an alarming blow to this little
 ‘ flock. They would have had Paris, not Cam-
 ‘ bray, which was considered as a rural diocese.
 ‘ They were vexed at the idea of his residence
 ‘ on his see, with which, at least occasionally,
 ‘ an Archbishop cannot dispense. Many ladies,
 ‘ instead of being delighted with what the world
 ‘ considered as a splendid fortune for their pastor,
 ‘ wept at his promotion. The new Prelate acted a
 ‘ noble part on the occasion. When he accept-
 ‘ ed

‘ ed the Archbishoprick, he generously gave up
 ‘ an Abbey, the only benefice that he had ever
 ‘ possessed. He was consecrated at St Cyr, by
 ‘ Bossuet, *the Dictator of the order of Bishops*, in
 ‘ presence of the young people belonging to it,
 ‘ of Madame de Maintenon, and of a few other
 ‘ privileged persons. The church was set out
 ‘ with ornamental furniture belonging to the
 ‘ Crown, and every thing was conducted with
 ‘ the greatest pomp *.’

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A character not less amiable than Fenelon Buas.
 was wanted to console the people of the diocese
 of Cambray, for the loss of M. de Buas, ‘ a
 ‘ Flemish gentleman, who was Archbishop
 ‘ when the King took the city; an excellent
 ‘ Prelate, who exerted himself with great fide-
 ‘ lity for the Spaniards during the siege, and
 ‘ became afterwards the faithful subject of
 ‘ France, as he had with frankness and candour
 ‘ promised to Lewis XIV. He had continued to
 ‘ conduct himself with such propriety, that he
 ‘ had obtained an high place in the estimation
 ‘ of the King and his Ministers, who regretted
 ‘ him,

* St Simon was closely connected with the Dukes of
 Beauvilliers and St Aignan, intimate friends of Fenelon,
 who could not heartily forgive the Bishop of Meaux his suc-
 cess against the Archbishop of Cambray. Bossuet was, in
 truth, eminent among the French Bishops for learning, piety
 and eloquence: But he never arrogated to himself any su-
 periority over others, or pretended to domineer among the
 clergy, as St Simon seems to insinuate, in calling him *Dictator*
of the Bishops.

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‘ him, as well as the people of his diocese. He
 ‘ resided constantly there, visited like a true
 ‘ pastor, and discharged all the functions of his
 ‘ office with the utmost assiduity. He was ex-
 ‘ tremely charitable; dealing out his liberalities
 ‘ to vast numbers, and being ready to serve all
 ‘ the world. He kept always a good table, at
 ‘ which a number of good company were usually
 ‘ assembled, and sat long, but without excess.
 ‘ But he would rise from it readily, to wait up-
 ‘ on the meanest person who wished to confess
 ‘ to him, or to receive his blessing, and die in
 ‘ his arms. Such acts of charity he discharged
 ‘ like an apostle *.’

Luxem-
 bourg. The
 Princess of
 Orange.

This year died Marshal Luxembourg †, a disci-
 ple formed under the great Condé, who did ho-
 nour to his master. Besides his military talents,
 he had another quality, of a most estimable na-
 ture: ‘ He made himself adored by his soldiers;
 ‘ when he needed their services, they were al-
 ‘ ways eager to perform their duty.’ They la-
 mented him as a father; and the nation in ge-
 neral, as one of their ablest defenders. The
 death of the Princess of Orange produced very
 different emotions. The Court did not openly
 rejoice on the occasion; but they at least ex-
 pressed no tokens of regret. ‘ Her father,
 ‘ James II. begged that they would not even
 ‘ wear mourning. Messieurs de Bouillon and
 ‘ de

* St Simon, t. I. pr. par. p. 69.

† Berwick, t. I. p. 232.

‘ de Duras, and all the relations of the Prince
‘ of Orange, were accordingly forbidden. They
‘ obeyed ; but considered it as a childish piece
‘ of revenge.’ In Lewis XIV. it was nothing
more than an act of complaisance ; he now be-
gan to see, that peace could not be obtained
without acknowledging William, King of Eng-
land, and was even preparing to make other sa-
crifices ; but these proved less considerable than
he had feared.

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The allies were as weary as he of the war.
Boufflers, famous for his probity and patriotism ;
Boufflers, fearless of danger, superior to artifice, and
regardless of rank, whenever any occasion offer-
ed to expose himself for his King and his coun-
try,—after his glorious defence of Namur, into
which he had thrown himself, was, on a frivo-
lous pretext, detained a prisoner by the Prince
of Orange, in direct violation of the articles up-
on which he had capitulated,—of purpose to
open the negociations which ended in the peace
of Ryfwick. On the other hand, Catinat, the
bulwark of France, the Cato of his age ; Catinat,
whom Madame de Maintenon suspected of ha-
ving no religion, perhaps because, when the
Court became devout, he did not, like the other
Courtiers, make any change of his exterior de-
portment,—after having almost always beat the
Duke of Savoy, had the pleasure of offering him
peace, of which the young Adelaide, afterwards
Duchess of Burgundy, became the pledge.

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Proposals of
peace.

The

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Mademoi-
selle Choin.

The prospect of this marriage spread new gaiety through the Court, which had been long becoming gloomy and serious. They had nothing but one insipid round of amusements;—play, shews, the chace, walks, music, and a few dull ceremonies; but no more of those gay and splendid festivals which transport the Courtier, and make even the people, for a few days, forget their sufferings. The Dauphin, like his father, led a uniform life at Meudon; and Mademoiselle Choin, whom he kept with him, notwithstanding the means that were used to prejudice him against her, acted nearly the same part there, as Madame de Maintenon at Versailles.

It was never known whether they were married. La Beaumelle asserts that they were *, and has fabricated on this ground, an ingenious romance. In proof of his facts, he refers to letters which have never appeared, and of which he confesses that he had seen nothing but extracts. I quote the following anecdote as not improbable: ‘ In one
‘ of those conversations with his father, in which
‘ the timid respect of the Dauphin made him
‘ always behave with a degree of constraint,
‘ which the easy familiarity of the King could
‘ never remove, after bestowing the highest
‘ praises on Mademoiselle Choin, and observing
‘ that he was heard without surprise or dissatis-
‘ faction,

* T. 4. p. 232. 242.

‘ faction, he asked his Majesty’s permission to
 ‘ marry her. ‘ Think seriously of it, my son,’
 ‘ said Lewis, as he retired into his cabinet,
 “ but never mention it more to me.” This was
 a very wise and indulgent reply; by it, his Ma-
 jesty left it still in his power to break off the
 marriage, if the welfare of the State, or the ho-
 nour of the Royal Family, should render that
 necessary; and without expoling his authority to
 contempt, left the Dauphin at liberty to gratify
 his inclinations, but with the certainty that his
 marriage with the Lady should never be pu-
 blicly authorised.

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St Simon again says, ‘ All who have been
 ‘ privy to their secrets agree, that there never
 ‘ was a marriage. Yet, one does not know what
 ‘ to think, after seeing her in the pavilion at
 ‘ Meudon, sitting in the presence of the Prince
 ‘ on an elbow-chair, and the Princesses only on
 ‘ stools; and hearing her speak to his daughter-
 ‘ in-law in a familiar, and sometimes rather in
 ‘ an indiscreet tone, chide her, find fault with
 ‘ her dress, her air, and often with her conduct.
 ‘ In all this, one can scarce help discovering the
 ‘ mother-in-law; the resemblance to the condi-
 ‘ tion of Madame de Maintenon is striking.
 ‘ Mademoiselle Choin waited on the Dauphin
 ‘ in a very dangerous illness, with the tenderest
 ‘ assiduity. The King not only knew, but ap-
 ‘ proved of this, and far from sending her a-
 ‘ way, as usual on such occasions, even recom-
 ‘ mended

PART III. ‘ mended to Madame de Maintenon to visit
 1696-98. ‘ her *.’

In point of charms, nature had made a great difference between those two ladies; and in point of age, there was still a greater †. It appears, too, that they both possessed the qualities by which mothers and grandmothers are commonly distinguished; the former grave, and ready to chide; the latter caressing and indulgent: In the presence of the Dauphin and Mademoiselle Choin, the Dutchess of Burgundy found herself always in constraint; with the King and Madame de Maintenon, she was at her ease.

Dutchess
of Lude.

The approaching marriage of the Princess of Savoy occasioned some promotions in the Court of France †. A Lady of Honour was wanted. The King hesitated almost to the very last moment, among several who had been proposed. ‘ In the evening, talking with his brother, who wished to learn on whom the choice was likely to fall, and diverting himself with his curiosity, he appeared very undetermined. Monsieur naming Madame du Lude, ‘ Good!’ cried his Majesty, ‘ the best in the world to teach
 “ the

* T. 3. p. 61.

† In the year 1699, at the age of sixty-four, Madame de Maintenon was, according to the expression of her Confessor, Maintenon’s Letters, t. 15. p. 44. ‘ *the refuge of a weak man.*’ It appears that Mademoiselle Choin, when much younger, could not preserve the Dauphin from any snare. *St Simon*, t. 3. p. 89.—*La Galerie de l’ancienne Cour*, &c.

‡ *St Simon*, t. 1. part 1. p. 109.

“ the Princess how to put on *rouge* and patches,’ PART III.
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 ‘ adding some other expressions not very favourable to that Lady. Next day, Monsieur’s
 ‘ Usher opening the door of his closet, announced to him that the Dutcheſs du Lude was appointed Lady of Honour. Monsieur treated
 ‘ the news as an idle ſtory. The Duke de Chatillon and ſeveral others, coming in juſt then,
 ‘ and confirming the account with all its circumſtances, Monsieur was at length convinced,
 ‘ but expreſſed ſuch ſurpriſe, that every one was ſtruck with it. They aſked the reaſon of his
 ‘ ſurpriſe; and, as ſecrecy was never his *fort*, he repeated, with great ſimplicity, what the
 ‘ King had ſaid but four and twenty hours before. His relation led to reflections. The
 ‘ channel through which Madame de Lude had obtained her place was ſought, and at length
 ‘ found out.

‘ Madame de Maintenon had retained an old ſervant, the only domeſtic that ſhe had in her ſervice during her widowhood. This woman, who was called *Nanon* by her Miſtreſs, and by all others, Mademoiſelle *Balbien*, aped her in her dreſs, her manners, her devotion, and even the tones of her voice. The Princeſſes, his Maſteſty’s daughters, ſometimes paid their reſpects to her; and the Miniſters of State were careful to ſalute her with very low bows. Like Madame de Maintenon, ſhe kept herſelf very private, and very inacceſſible; but Ma-

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‘ dame du Lude had ready access to her,
 ‘ through an old friend, Madame Barbizi,
 ‘ who had formerly done Nanon the honour of
 ‘ seeing her, and was now very happy in being
 ‘ received by Mademoiselle Balbien. Those two
 ‘ great ladies came to a mutual understanding,
 ‘ and, in consequence of paying twenty thousand
 ‘ crowns to Nanon, the Dutches was named
 ‘ to the place on the very evening after the
 ‘ King had expressed such an aversion for her.
 ‘ Such are Courts!’ exclaims St Simon. ‘ A
 ‘ Nanon sells the best offices to a rich and noble
 ‘ lady, without children, without concerns,
 ‘ free and independent, yet foolish enough to
 ‘ pay dear for admission to servitude!’ He
 might have added, persons in power, who are
 either weak or interested enough to suffer a traffic
 to be made of their credit, and Kings who
 know not that the choice which they think theirs,
 is made by a female servant.

Yet it must be confessed, that the Dutches du
 Lude was not unworthy of the preference which
 she obtained. Her prudence, her dignified manners,
 her acquaintance with the Court, qualified her well
 for the honours of her place. ‘ She was
 ‘ grand-daughter to Chancellor Seguier, by the
 ‘ Dutches de Verneuil. Her mother had been
 ‘ Lady of the Palace * to the Queen, and widow
 ‘ first of the gallant Count de Guiche, with
 ‘ whom she had not lived happy; afterwards of
 ‘ the

* Dame du Palais.

‘ the Count du Lude, whom she married from PART III.
 ‘ inclination, and had acquitted herself with 1596-98.
 ‘ equal prudence towards both her husbands.
 ‘ She continued always attached to the Court,
 ‘ though neither the King nor Madame de Main-
 ‘ tenon shewed any regard for her. She was very
 ‘ seldom invited to Marly ; and never honoured
 ‘ with any of those singular distinctions which
 ‘ were confined to a few ladies. This made her
 ‘ take pains to attain those distinctions.

‘ Madame du Lude had two formidable com-
 ‘ petitors, the Dutchess of Arpajon, and the La-
 ‘ dy of Marshal Rochefort. Madame de Roche-
 ‘ fort was Lady of Honour to the Dutchess de Char-
 ‘ tres, and Lady of the Wardrobe to the Dauphi-
 ‘ nefs. Had it not been for Madame de Blanzac,
 ‘ her daughter, her pretensions, supported as they
 ‘ were by real merit, might possibly have been
 ‘ allowed. Madame de Blanzac, endowed with
 ‘ all the enchanting graces and the pernicious
 ‘ arts of a syren, united in her character in-
 ‘ consistent qualities, which made her at once
 ‘ feared and beloved, esteemed and despised.
 ‘ She possessed great mildness of manners, with
 ‘ a malicious and artful mind ; the appearance
 ‘ of undisguised sincerity, with the most accom-
 ‘ plished deceit ; fictitious tales, made up of
 ‘ falsehood and treachery, she related in the voice
 ‘ of ingenuous candour. Her conversation was
 ‘ captivating. Nobody was capable of more deli-
 ‘ cate raillery, or happier ridicule. On those

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‘ who were incapable of returning the attacks,
 ‘ she poured it without mercy ; but with such
 ‘ art, that the person against whom it was di-
 ‘ rected was never sensible of being the butt,
 ‘ but thought her satire directed against others.
 ‘ At Court, or in the city, her apartment was
 ‘ continually filled with the best company. But
 ‘ her manners were worse than suspicious. Her
 ‘ expensive dissipation ruined Nangi, her son
 ‘ by her first marriage ; and Blanzac was brought
 ‘ in great haste from the army to be her second
 ‘ husband, yet scarce arrived in time *.

‘ The King’s three daughters disputed for her.
 ‘ The rank which her mother enjoyed in the ser-
 ‘ vice of the Dutchess de Chartres, attached her to
 ‘ that Princess in preference to her sisters. She had
 ‘ the entire command of her. The disturbance
 ‘ which the authority that she usurped gave oc-
 ‘ casion to, rendered her disagreeable to Mon-
 ‘ sieur and the Duke de Chartres. She was dis-
 ‘ missed ; but by tears and entreaties she prevail-
 ‘ ed with the Dutchess de Chartres to recal her.
 ‘ Being admitted by the King into some of his
 ‘ parties, she entertained him so much with her
 ‘ wit, that he could speak of nothing else to Ma-
 ‘ dame de Maintenon. She was alarmed, and
 ‘ prevailed with the lady’s mother to detain her
 ‘ at

* She was married on Saturday the 16th of August 1692, and lay in on Sunday. But Dangeau says, they had been secretly married for a year before, and the only reason for repeating the ceremonies was to avoid a process.

‘ at Paris ; giving her hopes of the place of Lady of Honour as a reward for her service. When Madame de Rochefort had done what she desired, she quarrelled with her, on pretext of her daughter’s irregularities, which, she said, were owing to her weak indulgence : So the good Lady was forced to appear satisfied with seeing her son appointed one of the Gentlemen to the Dauphin, without having asked the place for him *.

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The Dutchess of Arpajon, the other competitor, had already obtained one favour unasked, which gave her a sort of right to this one. ‘ She was the young and beautiful widow of an old man whom she had made happy ; and a process had brought her from Rouergue to Paris. Scarce had she been presented at Court, when the Lady of Honour to the Dauphiness died, and the place was immediately conferred on her. It was what she had not expected ; but she was sister to Beuvron, an old acquaintance of Madame de Maintenon’s, *who*, maliciously observes St Simon, *never forgot her friends of a certain description*. Nobody could have discharged the duties of the place better, or more to the satisfaction of every person than Madame d’Arpajon. She, therefore, expected the same place in the service of the Dutchess of Burgundy ; but money carried it from her. She could never forget the injury. The sense

Dutchess
d’Arpajon.

B 3

‘ of

* St Simon, t. I. pr. par. p. 116.

PART III. ‘ of it is even said to have killed her ; although,
 1696-98. ‘ to make up to her for the loss, her daughter
 ‘ was appointed Lady of the Palace *.

Count and
 Countess of
 Roucy.

‘ This Lady was Countess of Roucy. She
 ‘ was a true devotee ; homely, vain, peevish,
 ‘ obstinate, ambitious, officious, envious, and, to
 ‘ crown all. she never failed to appear at the so-
 ‘ lemn masses of the parish, and scarce ever to
 ‘ communicate every eight days. Her husband,
 ‘ one of those Roucy whose father retired from
 ‘ France, after the revocation of the edict of
 ‘ Nantz, was a favourite of the Ladies for his hand-
 ‘ some and manly figure, with his equals for his
 ‘ extravagance of expence, and with his inferiors
 ‘ for his familiar manners.

Mesdames
 de Nogaret
 and du
 Chatelet.

Two other ladies were at the same time na-
 med, entirely for their merit, and without in-
 trigue, as it were to be wished that places were
 always disposed of at Court. ‘ Madame du Cha-
 ‘ telet, who had been formerly in the service of
 ‘ the Dauphiness. and was daughter to Marshal
 ‘ Bellefonds, lived in retirement with her mo-
 ‘ ther at Vincennes, of which her brother was
 ‘ Governor, in a frugal œconomical style, that
 ‘ her husband, who was an excellent officer in
 ‘ the Old Cavalry of Lorraine, might live the
 ‘ more splendidly in the army. Her piety, her
 ‘ mildness of manners, and her other virtues,
 ‘ which were scarce displayed any where but in
 ‘ the place of her retirement, as she almost never
 ‘ came

* Dame du Palais.

‘ came abroad into the world, obtained her this
‘ appointment; and the choice was generally
‘ applauded.’ The appointment of Madame de
Nogaret met with equal approbation. She was
sister to Biron, who was created a Duke in 1723,
and to Madame de Villeroy, widow of Marshal
Villeroy, a brave but imprudent officer,—quali-
ties which sometimes go together *. She was
neither remarkable for beauty nor shape; yet
distinguished by grace and delicacy, with an
air of native simplicity. Besides, she was poor;
and the wife was rewarded for the services of the
husband, who had been killed at Fleurus.

PART III.
1696-98.

Lastly, the Ladies d’O and de Dangeau were
both placed in the service of the Dutchess of Bur-
gundy. One of them owed this piece of good
fortune to her husband; the other obtained it
by availing herself of the merits of hers. ‘ Guil-
‘ leragues, Madame d’O’s father, was a Gascon,
‘ a humourous man, fond of good eating, and
‘ an excellent companion. He had many friends;
‘ and after ruining himself in entertaining them,
‘ lived at their expence. He was one of Ma-

Madame
and
M. d’O.

B 4

‘ dame

* In Madame de Maintenon’s Letters, t. 5. p. 8. men-
tion is made of a Lady de Nogaret, *Dame du Palais*, whose
husband was alive in 1700. The battle of Fleurus was fought
in 1690; St Simon must therefore be mistaken with respect
to the period of her husband’s death. She must either not
have been a widow at the time of obtaining the place of
Dame du Palais, or have given up the place to her daughter-
in-law, or to some other lady, married to a Nogaret.

PART III.

1696-98.

‘ dame de Maintenon’s old acquaintance, and
 ‘ she forgot him not in his distress, but, to repair
 ‘ his exhausted fortune, procured him the place
 ‘ of Ambassador to Turkey, at that time very lu-
 ‘ crative. In Turkey, he allowed himself as
 ‘ good a dinner as at home, amused himself, laid
 ‘ up nothing; and, dying, left his widow with a
 ‘ handsome daughter, without any fortune to
 ‘ support them.

‘ On board the ship which was sent to convey
 ‘ his successor to Constantinople, and to bring
 ‘ home the family of Guilleragues, was a Lieu-
 ‘ tenant of the name of Villers. He, being
 ‘ pleased with the young lady’s beauty, began,
 ‘ in Turkey, to make suit to her, and, with con-
 ‘ sent of the mother, continued his addresses on
 ‘ their way, although he had as little fortune as
 ‘ his mistress. The ship was accidentally for-
 ‘ ced to cast anchor on the coast of Asia, near
 ‘ the ruins of Troy. The occasion was too ro-
 ‘ mantic to be resisted. The lovers went on
 ‘ shore and married. On arriving in France,
 ‘ the widow presented the young couple to the
 ‘ protectress of her deceased husband. Madame
 ‘ de Maintenon, affected at the adventure, which
 ‘ renewed the remembrance of her own, sought
 ‘ to provide for them. Villers had abilities;
 ‘ she placed him with the Count de Toulouse,
 ‘ as Steward of his Household; and, to give
 ‘ himself some consequence, he assumed the
 ‘ name

‘ name and arms of d’O, to which he pretend-
‘ ed a right.

PART III.
1696-98.

‘ Both husband and wife now advanced to
‘ fortune by a rapid progress, but by different
‘ means. M. d’O was a man of a large figure and
‘ cold distant manners, with just enough of under-
‘ standing to impose upon silly people, by con-
‘ temptuous silence, by a solemn demeanour, and
‘ by the dress and practices of a professed devo-
‘ tee. In a word,’ says St Simon, ‘ you would
‘ have taken him for a Pharisee. He had the
‘ air, the austerity, and the manners of one, in
‘ such perfection, that I have often been tempt-
‘ ed to cut the tail of his coat behind into
‘ fringes*.’

‘ His wife again was fond of the world, of
‘ pleasure, and of good cheer. She assembled
‘ good company round her table; but it was
‘ observed that she chiefly invited people who
‘ could be of use to her. She had this in com-
‘ mon with her husband, that she saw none but
‘ persons who were in favour at Court. But
‘ she differed from him in being entertaining,
‘ making herself agreeable to the idlers about
‘ Court, and never going abroad but to serve
‘ some purpose. This alliance of devotion and
‘ retirement, on the one side, with such a con-
‘ trariety

* Dangeau dates the marriage of M. Villers d’O with
Mademoiselle de Guilleragues, on Shrove-Tuesday 1689.
In this case, the marriage in Asia must either be a fable, or
the ceremony must have been renewed in France.

PART III.

1696-98.

‘ trariety of conduct, on the other, was managed
 ‘ with so much judgment and prudence, that
 ‘ nothing appeared incongruous or constrained.
 ‘ They had the address, though indebted for
 ‘ every thing to Madame de Maintenon, yet to
 ‘ please Madame de Montespan ; by which
 ‘ means, they acquired and retained the good
 ‘ graces of the Count of Toulouse, who was very
 ‘ affectionate to his mother. M. d’O’s situation
 ‘ in the service of that Prince, gave him liberty
 ‘ of access to the King, whom he might see at
 ‘ all hours, to talk with him of his son.’ Thus
 their good fortune owed its rise to the wife, and
 was improved by the husband.

Monf. and
 Madame de
 Dangeau.

M. Dangeau owed his good fortune to him-
 self. ‘ A gentleman of Beauce, of an Huguenot
 ‘ family, and unpatronized, by his dexterity in
 ‘ play, he insinuated into the Court, at the time
 ‘ when all was love and revelry ; and though
 ‘ he gained considerable sums, was so fortunate
 ‘ as never to incur suspicion. He lent obliging-
 ‘ ly, and his character of fairness and integrity
 ‘ procured him useful friends. Play introduced
 ‘ him into the parties of Lewis’s mistresses, who
 ‘ treated him with familiarity, and introduced
 ‘ him into the company of the Monarch him-
 ‘ self. Dangeau made verses, was handsome
 ‘ and gallant. Thus introduced at Court, but
 ‘ without any establishment, his ambition was
 ‘ for an apartment at Versailles. As he was
 ‘ one day at play with the King, Lewis, whom
 ‘ he

PART III.
1696-98.

‘ he had more than once importuned on this
‘ head, began to rally him on the ease with
‘ which he made his verses, which, to say the
‘ truth, were seldom good. All at once the
‘ King proposed to him some very hard rhimes,
‘ with a promise of an apartment if he could
‘ instantly fill them up. Dangeau accepted the
‘ challenge, considered for a moment, accom-
‘ plished the task, and obtained his lodging.
‘ In a short time after, he married the sister of
‘ Madame d’Estrées, daughter to Morin the
‘ Jew, with an enormous fortune, and bought
‘ the place of Reader to his Majesty; a sinecure,
‘ but which afforded access to the King at his
‘ *petit-coucher*. By his assiduity, he obtained
‘ from the King a regiment of infantry. After
‘ keeping it for a short time, he was sent on
‘ business to England. At his return, he bought
‘ from an unlucky gamester the place of Go-
‘ vernor of Touraine, and after that the post of
‘ Gentleman-usher to the Dauphiness. By ano-
‘ ther piece of good fortune he became a wi-
‘ dower; and in the year 1688, was created a
‘ Knight of the Holy Ghost.

‘ The Dauphiness had brought a Maid of
‘ Honour from a convent in Germany, who pos-
‘ sessed the beauty of an angel, the elegant shape
‘ of a nymph, a good understanding, and a spot-
‘ less reputation. Her father, Count Lewestein,
‘ was a branch of the Palatine family, but the
‘ descendant

PART III. ' descendant of a left-hand marriage*. Her
 1696-98. ' mother was sister to Cardinal Furstemberg,
 ' with whom his niece was a great favourite,
 ' and who wished much to see her married in
 ' France, where there was, besides, a great in-
 ' clination to oblige him. The King and Ma-
 ' dame de Maintenon cast their eyes on Dan-
 ' geau, who was rich, well established at Court,
 ' and decorated with honours. The fair Ger-
 ' man, notwithstanding all his honours, made
 ' an obstinate resistance. The King, Madame
 ' de Maintenon, and the Dauphiness interfered ;
 ' her uncle interposed his authority, and the
 ' niece at last yielded. From that time, Dan-
 ' geau imagined himself Elector Palatine. He
 ' was the very best man in the world ; but,
 ' there is no denying it,—often the butt of
 ' ridicule. Madame de Montespan used to say,
 ' very pleasantly, that it was impossible not to
 ' love him, or not to laugh at him.

‘ To complete his honours, the King con-
 ‘ ferred on him the place of Grand-Master of
 ‘ the order of St Lazarus. On occasions of ce-
 ‘ remony, he affected to mimic the King. All
 ‘ the world assembled to admire and to laugh at
 ‘ his solemnity. He was made first Gentleman-
 ‘ usher to the Dutchess of Burgundy, and Coun-
 ‘ sellor

* When a German Nobleman marries beneath his rank, he gives only his left hand at the celebration of the nuptial ceremony. T.

‘ fellow *d’Etat d’Epée*. At length, his connec-
 ‘ tions with men of letters procured him a chair
 ‘ in the Academy. His wife became first Lady
 ‘ of the Bed-chamber, as being lady of the first
 ‘ Gentleman-usher, and because there were no
 ‘ other titled dames among the Ladies of the
 ‘ Bed-chamber. Her birth, her virtue, her
 ‘ beauty, her having married rather to please
 ‘ the King than herself, and her living very pru-
 ‘ dently with a man much above her own age,
 ‘ all endeared her to Madame de Maintenon,
 ‘ whose intimacy she enjoyed.’

PART III.
 1696-98.

The King received the young Adelaide of Savoy as an angel of peace. His first act was to present her to God, and to pray that the marriage might become a source of happiness to his people, and of comfort to his old age. A letter from Madame de Maintenon to the Dutchess of Savoy, affords a better account than any of the memoirs of the time, of what the young Princess then was, and what might be expected of her. Lewis XIV. went to meet her at Montargis, on the 4th of November 1696. Immediately after his arrival, he wrote to Madame de Maintenon, who remained at Fontainebleau, a letter, of which she sent an abstract to the Princess’s mother, annexing the opinion which she herself had formed, upon a few days acquaintance.

Arrival of
 the Dut-
 chess of
 Burgundy.

‘ The King,’ says she, ‘ is charmed with her.
 ‘ He speaks with admiration of her air, her
 ‘ graceful

PART III.
1696-98.

‘ graceful manner, her politeness, her discretion,
 ‘ her modesty ; and your Royal Highness knows
 ‘ how niggardly he is of his praises. It is im-
 ‘ possible to come off better from a first inter-
 ‘ view. She has all the charms of eleven, and
 ‘ already all the perfections of a more advanced
 ‘ age. Her temper appears amiable, and her fi-
 ‘ gure promises to become perfect. To shew
 ‘ her good sense she needs only speak. Her
 ‘ manner of listening, all the changes in her
 ‘ countenance, her looks, every thing in short,
 ‘ shew that nothing can escape her penetration.
 ‘ Her politeness renders her incapable of saying
 ‘ any thing that might be disagreeable. I would
 ‘ refuse her caresses, on pretence that I was old.
 “ Ah ! not so old,” replied she. Then making
 ‘ me sit down, and seating herself, with a flat-
 ‘ tering air, almost on my knees, ‘ Mamma,’ said
 ‘ she, ‘ has directed me to give you the warmest
 “ assurances of her friendship, and to tell you
 “ that she hopes for yours in return. You must
 “ be so good as teach me how to please the
 “ King.’ Such were her words ; but the soft-
 ‘ ness, the liveliness, the graceful manner in
 ‘ which they were uttered, are more than I can
 ‘ express upon paper. I dare not join my ad-
 ‘ miration with that which can alone be valued ;
 ‘ but I cannot help thanking your Royal High-
 ‘ ness for bestowing upon us a child, who pro-
 ‘ mises to become the delight of the Court, and
 ‘ the glory of her age.’ Madame de Maintenon

adds :

adds: ' You do me too much honour, Madam, PART III.
1696-98.
' in approving of my attention to her. Your
' Royal Highness has left so little to be done,
' that all I can do is to hinder others from spoil-
' ing what you have rendered so perfect. But I
' may perhaps begin with spoiling her myself.'

St Cyr was of considerable service to Madame de Maintenon in her endeavours to form the mind of Adelaide. She inspired her pupil with a taste for going often there, and directed her to chuse her favourites among those who, being themselves eminent for their virtues, might form her to similar habits, and give her a relish for such useful employments as were suitable to her age.
' She sometimes dressed like a lady *, but oftener like a girl † of the order of St Lewis.
' In this dress, she would go to the *office of the kitchen* to attend the examination of household accounts; to the treasury, where other business was transacted; to the apartments of the novices, where she received instruction; and to the *classes*, in which by obeying she learned to command. It gave her the highest pleasure, when people took no notice of her rank. Considering these as necessary tasks, she dedicated her time entirely to them, avoided the indolence and luxury of Versailles, and thus became the Antiope whom Minerva formed for Telemachus ‡.'

Principles
of educa-
tion.

As

* Dame.

† Demoiselle.

‡ La Beaumelle, t. 4. p. 150.

PART III.
 1696-98.

As the Princess advanced in age, and the time of her marriage, which took place on the 7th of December 1697, approached, instead of the young companions with whom she had hitherto associated, M. de Maintenon placed about her persons more advanced in age, who all endeavoured to render her an accomplished woman. ‘ When she had failed in the performance of any ‘ of her duties, she was warned of it by seeing ‘ a gloom diffused over the countenances of all ‘ around her. When she saw them joyful, she ‘ might be satisfied that she had done well ; and ‘ this operated as a new motive to induce her ‘ to persevere. Whether absent or present, M. ‘ de Maintenon was still vigilant to preserve her ‘ from the snares of the Court. Her understanding she was assiduous to cultivate by the ‘ most instructive lessons ; sometimes teaching ‘ her the knowledge of the human heart by remarks on the characters of Courtiers ; and ‘ sometimes writing out for her such advices as ‘ none but the most enlightened wisdom could ‘ suggest.’

Advices.

Those advices which, by the confession of the Princess, preserved her from a good many errors, form the substance of a letter which I am sorry to abridge. It begins with this maxim : ‘ The ‘ fear of God is the beginning of wisdom ; the ‘ love of God the fulfilling of the law *.’ Ma-
 dame

* Lettres de Maintenon, t. 2. p. 250.

PART III.
1696-98.

dame de Maintenon next praises the holy scriptures, from which this maxim is quoted; and takes occasion to give her pupil directions for her reading. ‘Profane books,’ says she, ‘while they enlarge our knowledge, inspire pride, and excite curiosity, a passion so dangerous to our sex; whereas the holy scriptures, while they instruct, impress the heart with sentiments of humility.’ She proceeds with some valuable reflections on piety, recommending to her ‘always to prefer the duties of her station to any particular act of devotion, to avoid vanity and idleness, and, above all, to flee from sin. Vice is dreadful and dangerous; and unhappy vicious habits are easily formed, but not to be laid aside, without the utmost difficulty.’ She exhorts her to love the church, to respect its ministers, to protect respectable characters, to assist the unfortunate, whoever they be, and to do good with discernment, and without acceptance of persons. ‘Never protect a person of your acquaintance to the prejudice of a man of merit, not personally known to you. Avoid novelties, continue attached to the Holy See, it is the centre of unity.’ Her advices on the choice of a confessor, and on devotional exercises, are no less prudent; and the following, on the tenor of conduct which the Princess should maintain towards her husband, the courtiers, and the people, shew very great experience in the Lady who gave them.

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C

‘Hope

PART III.

1696-98.

‘ Hope not,’ says she, ‘ for perfect happiness ;
 ‘ there is no such thing on earth ; though there
 ‘ were, it would not be found at Court. Great-
 ‘ ness is exposed to afflictions often more severe
 ‘ than those to which a private station is liable.
 ‘ Be neither vexed nor ashamed to depend on
 ‘ your husband. Let him be your dearest friend,
 ‘ your only confident. Hope not for constant
 ‘ harmony in the marriage state. The best
 ‘ husbands and wives are those who bear occa-
 ‘ sionally from each other sallies of ill humour
 ‘ with patient mildness. Be obliging, without
 ‘ putting great value on your favours. Hope
 ‘ not for a full return of tenderness. Men are
 ‘ tyrants who would be free themselves and have
 ‘ us confined. You need not be at the pains to
 ‘ examine whether their rights be well founded ;
 ‘ it is enough that they are established. Pray
 ‘ God to keep you from jealousy. The affec-
 ‘ tions of a husband are never to be regained by
 ‘ complaints, reproaches, or sullen behaviour.

‘ Speak, write, act, think, as if you were al-
 ‘ ways in the presence of a thousand witnesses.
 ‘ Sooner or later, all must be known.—Writing
 ‘ is dangerous.—The only maxim ever given
 ‘ to Princes, is to practise dissimulation : But it
 ‘ is an unhappy maxim, and often involves them
 ‘ in disagreeable circumstances. I had much
 ‘ rather have a prudent frankness. Love your
 ‘ children. See them often. This is the most
 ‘ honourable occupation for either a Princess or

‘ a peasant.—Never adopt the passions of others; PART III.
 ‘ it is your business to moderate, not to follow 1696-98.
 ‘ them. Never persist in maintaining what you
 ‘ know to be wrong.—A Princess should be of no
 ‘ party, but only strive to maintain harmony.—
 ‘ Love the State. Love the Nobility; they are
 ‘ the support of the State. Love your domestics;
 ‘ let them make their fortunes in your service;
 ‘ but that never an enormous one. Love your
 ‘ relations; but let only France be your country.
 ‘ France will love you only in proportion as
 ‘ you love it. Refuse not to listen to those who
 ‘ apply for your aid. The power of doing good,
 ‘ is your only recompence for the state of servi-
 ‘ tude in which your rank places you.’ The
 letter ends with a sort of paradox, which
 perhaps Princes experience to be truer than it
 may be thought. ‘ You are the first woman in
 ‘ the world; but not to flatter you, you will also
 ‘ find yourself, and on that very account, the
 ‘ most unhappy.’

The marriage of the Dutchess of Burgundy, 1698-99.
 was celebrated with great splendour. Those Marriage.
 graces were already opening which afterwards
 rendered this Princess so charming: A stature
 rising to Majesty, large eyes, a lively set of fea-
 tures, the delicacy and lustre of complexion pe-
 culiar to early youth. The Duke was all that
 can be expected at fifteen years of age; lively,
 slender, ready to yield to every emotion, but al-
 ready distinguished by an air of reflection which

PART III. indicated approaching maturity of judgment.
1698-99. The young couple soon found means to escape the vigilance of those who wished to impose on them for two years; a restraint which their youth seemed to require. St Simon, to express the tenderness of the Duke of Burgundy, calls him
 ‘ an ardent Novice *.’

Mask with
four faces.

‘ There were a variety of amusements at Court, on occasion of that marriage. The King gave balls at Versailles and Marly. At these were exhibited ingenious masquerades, a series of allegorical masks, with all the agreeable contrivances for entertainment that French gaiety could invent. The Dauphin, even Madame de Maintenon, all the Princes, and the principal persons about Court, did their utmost to furnish amusements. But none succeeded so well as the Prince of Condé. In his apartment, which consisted but of a few rooms, he found means to surprise every person, by giving an entertainment, the most gallant, the most ingeniously contrived, and the best directed imaginable. A splendid ball, masks, an imitation of the shops of different countries, a collation charmingly decorated; and all without disobliging any person, without crowding and without confusion.

‘ A very lovely young married lady had, on that occasion, a mortifying adventure.
 ‘ She

* *Une ferveur de Novice.*

• She had been observed to entertain a growing PART III.
 • passion for the Count d'Evreux, a handsome 1698-99.
 • young man, who might very well turn the
 • head of any young woman. About the middle
 • of the ball, enters a mask with four faces, of
 • four persons belonging to the Court, made in
 • wax, and perfectly like. Of these, that of the
 • Count d'Evreux was one. He wore a large
 • flowing robe, in which he had concealed means
 • for turning about any of his four faces with the
 • greatest readiness. The singular appearance
 • of this mask, attracted every one's notice. Ma-
 • ny conjectures were formed, and the mask was
 • asked to dance. In the course of his minuet,
 • he turned about his four faces in a very di-
 • verting manner. When he had done, the
 • malicious wag went to pay his respects to the
 • poor Lady above mentioned, presenting to
 • her the countenance of the Count d'Evreux.
 • This was not all. Being an excellent dancer,
 • he, through the whole dance, turned his head
 • so as to look the Lady with whom he danced
 • straight in the face. She changed colour; yet
 • without entirely losing countenance, resolved
 • to cut short the dance. With this intention, she,
 • at the second turn, offered her hand; the mask
 • also presented his, but sprung nimbly off, and
 • begun the figure anew. She now thought to
 • succeed better; but the mask repeated the same
 • teasing conduct, kept the countenance towards

PART III.

1698-99.

‘ her, and made it still stare her directly in the
 ‘ face, while her change of complexion, and her
 ‘ endeavours to get off, continued to indicate
 ‘ her feelings;—and what was peculiarly mortifying,
 ‘ there was a profound silence through
 ‘ the whole assembly. At length she had walked
 ‘ at least three times an ordinary minuet.
 ‘ There was reason to fear, that her husband
 ‘ might come in before the scene was over.
 ‘ He, in fact, came in. But a prudent and officious
 ‘ friend waited at the door, prevented him
 ‘ from entering, and, on pretence that the room
 ‘ was crowded, led him to walk in the gallery
 ‘ till the mask should be gone. He saw what
 ‘ was passing; but conceived nothing of the malicious
 ‘ purpose with which the mask persecuted his wife*.’ Perhaps this adventure might
 preserve the virtue of the Lady whom St Simon
 does not name, at a very critical period: He
 does her the justice to mention, that she behaved
 with great propriety through the rest of her life.

Princess
 d’Elfz.

At the same time, there was exhibited a sort
 of melancholy masquerade, which afforded no
 small pleasure to the Court. ‘ A good German
 ‘ Lady, the Princess d’Elfz, came into France
 ‘ to claim the inheritance of the family of Ailli,
 ‘ in right of her grandmother; believing it to
 ‘ have fallen to her on the death of her father,
 ‘ which had happened about six months before.

‘ She

* St Simon, t. i.

‘ She appeared in deep mourning, her carriage
 ‘ covered with black cloth, her horses capari-
 ‘ foned in black, with white crosses, her servants
 ‘ muffled up in long mantles, with trailing
 ‘ crapes. When asked for whom she appeared
 ‘ in such deep mourning, *Alas!* replied she sob-
 ‘ bing, *it is for my Papa.* This pretty childish
 ‘ word appeared so ridiculous in the mouth of a
 ‘ Princess fifty or sixty years old, that every person
 ‘ was eager to put the question, in order to be en-
 ‘ tertained with the same reply. What an ill cu-
 ‘ stom the French have,’ exclaims St Simon, ‘ of
 ‘ laughing at every thing that varies from their
 ‘ own customs!’ He allows, however, that ‘ the
 ‘ deep sighs and the solemn mourning, were suf-
 ‘ ficiently subject to ridicule.—The orphan was
 ‘ kindly received, and treated with the honours
 ‘ due to her rank; but she went home empty-
 ‘ handed *.’

PART III.
 1698-99.

The general peace, the approach of which 1697-99.
 had been announced to the world by the arrival
 of the Princess of Savoy in France, in the 1696,
 was finally concluded and signed at Ryfwick,
 three months before her marriage in September
 1697. Lewis suffered the mortification of be-
 ing obliged to give up the interest of his friend
 James II. and to acknowledge William King
 of England. James was treated in the light of

C 4

a

* St Simon, t. I. sec. par. p. 79.—Dangeau, 16th Sep-
 tember 1699.

PART III.
1697-99.

a deceased person. A secret article secured an annuity to his wife, which was never paid.

During the latter years of the war that was now brought to a termination, the administration of the finances had been in the hands of Phelipeaux-Pontchartrain, ' who found himself ' unwillingly constrained to adopt various extraordinary means of raising money. ' The poll-tax and the tenth were proposed by Basville, ' Intendant of Languedoc. Pontchartrain was ' afraid of imposing two taxes, which the facility ' with which they might be assessed and increased ' might render perpetual, and grievously burdensome. The second he rejected without ' deliberation; but was obliged to adopt the former *.' But he enjoyed the satisfaction of seeing the King suppress it, with the militia, the right of the soldiers to free quarters, and a good many other impositions, on the year after the peace. Some would have persuaded the Monarch to continue it.—' No;' replied he, ' I ' have kept my word with my enemies, respecting the conditions of peace, and it is but fair ' that I keep it with my subjects, from whom I ' have received so many proofs of fidelity and ' zeal.'

At the very time when Pontchartrain hoped to get quit of the perplexities of his office, Chancellor Boucherat died. ' Would you be Chancellor

♦ Reboulet, t. 6. p. 409.

‘ cellor of France?’ said the King to him. PART III.
1697-99.
 ‘ Ah! Sire,’ replied he, embracing his Majesty’s
 knees, ‘ Your Majesty knows, that I have more
 ‘ than once asked leave to resign my charge of
 ‘ the finances, and cannot doubt that I will re-
 ‘ joice to give it up for the first other post that
 ‘ offers.’ ‘ I have actually heard him say,’ adds
 St Simon, ‘ that the obtaining of the office of
 ‘ Chancellor, gave him less satisfaction than the
 ‘ getting free from the burden of the finances,
 ‘ which, the peace notwithstanding, was be-
 ‘ coming every day more insupportable. The
 ‘ King still allowed him his apartment at Ver-
 ‘ sailles, and put his son into immediate posses-
 ‘ sion of the Marine department, of which he
 ‘ had only the survivorship*.’

The finances were given to Chamillart, who
 had no expectation of the office, but was in the
 country at the time of his appointment to it.
 We have seen what estimable qualities he pos-
 sessed. ‘ In his new employment, he displayed
 ‘ mildness, patience and affability, of which
 ‘ there had been no example, and which gained
 ‘ him the good will of every person who had
 ‘ any thing to transact with him. He refused
 ‘ not to hear the most foolish proposals, nor the
 ‘ most absurd demands, however often repeated.
 ‘ The coolness of his natural temper qualified
 ‘ him for this, without disposing him to treat
 ‘ any

Chamillart,
Comptrol-
ler-general.

* St Simon, t. I. sec. par. p. 69.

PART III. ' any person with mortifying indifference.'
 1697-99. This is what St Simon says. But in the Me-

moirs of Berwick, we read, ' That when any
 ' one began to speak to him, he used always to
 ' say, *I know*, although the matter proposed were
 ' something quite different from what he thought
 ' it. His manner of refusing, made you think
 ' that the refusal gave him uneasiness; and his
 ' manner of granting a request, enhanced the
 ' favour. He was, indeed, very much disposed
 ' to oblige, and exceedingly unwilling to give
 ' pain. He gained the affection of the Inspect-
 ' ors of the Finances. His behaviour to them,
 ' hindered them from feeling any discontent at
 ' seeing their inferior raised to a superior station.
 ' The whole Court was fond of him: He was
 ' so easy of access, so polite, and so eager to
 ' oblige. The King showed to him the affection
 ' of a friend, and seemed to view him every day
 ' with increasing esteem.

' But Chamillart was not happy in his family.
 ' He was unsuitably matched: A circumstance,'
 says St Simon, ' which may be regarded as no
 ' small misfortune to any person; but to a Mi-
 ' nister, who has time for nothing himself, must
 ' be doubly so. He should at least have had a
 ' woman who might have gathered about him
 ' people to tell him news, intrigues, and the
 ' history of the day. But his wife, though one
 ' of the best women in the world, very virtuous,
 ' and very polite, could only ask how one did,
 ' and

‘ and propose some game to supply the want of
 ‘ conversation. His brother, who was first Bi-
 ‘ shop of Dol, and afterwards of Senlis, was a
 ‘ good man, and an excellent Priest. Give him
 ‘ only a hood and hanging sleeves, and he might
 ‘ have been sent to Mende, or to such another
 ‘ bishoprick, at an extremity of the kingdom.
 ‘ He had another brother, a good enough officer,
 ‘ but odd and disagreeable in society, who was
 ‘ transferred from the sea to the land service.
 ‘ He had a cousin-german too, whom he em-
 ‘ ployed under himself, and who was the true
 ‘ original of the Marquis of Mascarille. There
 ‘ was also an Abbé, a near relation of his,
 ‘ whom he kept about him as an assistant in bu-
 ‘ siness, and in the management of domestic af-
 ‘ fairs, to make up, by his care, for Madame de
 ‘ Chamillart’s want of abilities. This Abbé was
 ‘ one of the best and most attentive men in the
 ‘ world; but a man who made much ado about
 ‘ trifles, and seldom knew either what he said,
 ‘ or what he meant to say. With such people
 ‘ about him, it must be allowed that Chamillart,
 ‘ who was not equal in abilities, either to Col-
 ‘ bert or to Louvois, whose offices he filled,
 ‘ needed all the friendship of the King and Ma-
 ‘ dame de Maintenon, to maintain him in office
 ‘ for so long a time as he continued.’

Pontchartrain, when, on becoming Chancellor,
 he resigned the Treasury and the Admiralty,
 still retained the department of Paris. ‘ It was
 ‘ he

PART III.
 1697-99.

D’Argen-
 son made
 Lieutenant
 of Police.

PART III.

1697-99.

‘ he who, in 1697, employed M. d’Argenson to
 ‘ regulate the police of the capital. He had
 ‘ spent his youth in the employment of Lieute-
 ‘ nant-General of Angouleme, an office which
 ‘ he inherited from his father. They were de-
 ‘ scendants of a family which had been distin-
 ‘ guished by military honours; but want of for-
 ‘ tune obliged them to embrace the profession
 ‘ of the law. The son married a Lady of the
 ‘ family of Caumartin, and became, rather at a
 ‘ late period, Master of Requests. A Lieute-
 ‘ nant of the Police is both a Magistrate and a
 ‘ Minister. All the talents of a great politician,
 ‘ are even requisite to enable a man to discharge
 ‘ the duties of this office with credit: And I
 ‘ assert,’ says his son, ‘ that my father possessed
 ‘ them all. With the figure of a Rhadaman-
 ‘ thus, and under an unpolished outside, he was
 ‘ obliging and polite. The next moment after
 ‘ his black wig and eye-brows had struck terror
 ‘ into the populace, the elegance of his conver-
 ‘ sation, and the gaiety of his manners, shewed
 ‘ that he was formed for good company.

‘ In this situation, he saved from ruin many
 ‘ people of quality, and young men of good fa-
 ‘ milies. It was believed, that by his spies, of
 ‘ whom he very much availed himself, he be-
 ‘ came acquainted with the secrets of every fa-
 ‘ mily. But he made a discreet use of the in-
 ‘ formation which he received. He never di-
 ‘ sturbed the family; but confined the secrets
 ‘ to

‘ to his own breast, without making any use of
 ‘ them, unless for some purpose beneficial to the
 ‘ State, or to private persons. Amid the mul-
 ‘ tiplicity of important, but very diversified af-
 ‘ fairs, with which M. d’Argenson was occu-
 ‘ pied, he entered upon any one, either when
 ‘ most convenient, or when he liked best; ever
 ‘ turning with astonishing facility from one
 ‘ piece of business to another of a different na-
 ‘ ture. His mind, always alike steady and ac-
 ‘ tive, was equal to all. He never failed to find
 ‘ the end of the thread, although for ever break-
 ‘ ing it; he could comprehend an hundred dif-
 ‘ ferent objects, without confounding them.
 ‘ He never knew what hour it was. It is sur-
 ‘ prising, that a machine requiring so much pre-
 ‘ cision and regularity as the police of Paris,
 ‘ could be directed by one of the least punctual
 ‘ men in the world*.’

Madame de Maintenon, as has been related,
 married her niece, Mademoiselle d’Aubigné, a few
 months after the Dutchess of Burgundy. ‘ The
 ‘ affair is over (writes she); it has cost my brother
 ‘ an hundred thousand francs, me my estate, the
 ‘ King eight hundred thousand livres. Due re-
 ‘ spect, you observe, is paid to difference of de-
 ‘ grees. The Duke de Noailles gives his son
 ‘ an yearly income of twenty thousand livres,
 ‘ and engages to leave him twice as much at his
 ‘ death.

Mademoi-
 selle d’Au-
 bigné.

* St Simon, t. 5. p. 20. D’Argenson. p. 189. 109.

PART III.
1697-99.

‘ death. The King, who never does things by
 ‘ halves, grants M. d’Ayen the survivorship of
 ‘ his father’s governments. What an excellent
 ‘ alliance! I did not foresee so much when
 ‘ Mademoiselle d’Aubigné was born.’

Racine.

It was to Madame de Caylus she wrote thus:
 ‘ Madame de Caylus, who did the most justice
 ‘ to the pieces of Racine, of all the actresses of
 ‘ St Cyr. It is well known that he composed
 ‘ the sacred dramas of Esther and Athalia, for
 ‘ the use of that society; the subjects of which
 ‘ must have been the more difficult to handle,
 ‘ because they admit of no love-adventures, and
 ‘ the author has contrived to treat the sacred
 ‘ scriptures with due respect, and to preserve the
 ‘ truth of history, without giving up theatrical
 ‘ beauties. None had ever more wit, nor that
 ‘ of an happier kind, than he. In his inter-
 ‘ course with the world, nothing of the poet,
 ‘ nothing but the honest modest man. The
 ‘ most illustrious persons about Court, were his
 ‘ friends. Lewis XIV. was fond of his conver-
 ‘ sation; and he continued to enjoy the fami-
 ‘ liarity of the Monarch, till an unhappy expres-
 ‘ sion, which escaped him inadvertently, cost him
 ‘ his Sovereign’s favour, and perhaps his life.’

He was conversing with the King in Madame
 de Maintenon’s apartment. They were speak-
 ing of the theatres of Paris. ‘ After exhausting
 ‘ the subject of the opera, Lewis began with
 ‘ tragedy and comedy, enquired concerning
 ‘ pieces

' pieces and authors, and asked how it came PART III.
 ' that comedy had declined to so low a state as 1697-99.
 ' he now heard it was in, from the high degree
 ' of perfection in which he had once seen it.
 ' Racine gave several reasons; but the chief was
 ' the scarcity of good authors. For want of
 ' good new pieces,' said he, ' the players are
 ' obliged to produce the old again upon the
 ' stage, and among others, *those wretched pro-*
 ' *ductions of Scaron.* Scarce had he uttered
 ' the name of Scaron, when the widow red-
 ' dened; the King looking at her, felt confused,
 ' and was silent. This silence aroused poor Ra-
 ' cine from his absence of mind; and he now
 ' became the most confused of the three, and
 ' dared neither look nor speak. Lewis was the
 ' first to recover himself; and he put an end to
 ' the dumb scene, by sending away the poet,
 ' on pretence that he was going to be busy.
 ' Racine retired, thinking himself a lost man,
 ' and made to the door in the best manner he
 ' could; where, meeting his friend Cavois, he
 ' related to him what a piece of folly he had
 ' been guilty of. Cavois endeavoured to make
 ' him easy; but Racine was sensible that his
 ' blunder was irremediable. In fact, from that
 ' day forward, neither the King nor Madame
 ' de Maintenon ever spoke to him, and scarce
 ' did they deign to take the smallest notice of
 ' him. He was so much affected, that he fell
 ' into

PART III. ' into a melancholy and languishing condition,
 1697-99. ' and died in the year 1699 *.'

Perhaps the name of Scaron might have been less fatal to him, had it not escaped his lips in the presence of Scaron's successor. It appears that Madame de Maintenon was not extremely delicate on this head; for, in a letter to the Duke d'Ayen, in which the train of discourse naturally introduced the word *burlesque*, she adds, ' I am here in my own province, you know. But we often say things of ourselves, which we would not chuse to hear from others; and in good, as well as in evil, *circumstances* are sometimes every thing.'

Racine was almost the last of those men of genius who adorned the reign of Lewis XIV. Moliere died in 1673, Corneille in 1684, Quinault in 1688, la Fontaine in 1695, la Bruyere in 1696. Of all who had excelled in elegant literature, none now remained but Boileau, who died in 1711, and Fenelon, on whom the theological contests which were then kindled, conferred a celebrity of a different kind.

1697-1700.
 Quietism.

Between Quietism, Jansenism, and the disputes which arose concerning the Chinese ceremonies, Lewis XIV. was a good deal perplexed. Quietism reigned at St Cyr, and prevailed at Court, many

* Lewis Racine, in his memoirs of his father, gives a different account of the occasion of his death. See *Racine Edit. de Luneau de Bois Germain, t. 1. p. 66.*

many years before the King knew any thing of it, except that there was a woman who pretended to a sort of inspiration, and whom, on account of her singular opinions, he had been persuaded, first to banish from Paris, and after that, to confine her successively in a convent at Vincennes, and the Bastille. He was much surprised when he came to learn that those abstract opinions which he had treated as reveries when Madame de Maintenon attempted to give him a relish for them, formed the principles of union among a numerous sect that had established itself about him. Madame de Maintenon gives a very natural account of the surprise which she felt herself, and excited in others. ‘I had not the least idea of Quietism,’ says she to the Ladies of St Lewis, ‘I therefore adopted the sentiments of the Archbishop of Cambray, without suspicion. You know with what views I communicated them to you. He was a man of the greatest reputation, and to me appeared a saint. I never had any good thing which I did not wish to share with you. With these sentiments, I filled your house with his works.’

They had been read with eagerness; and these are the effects which they produced. ‘They were in frequent transports. Their inclination to prayer became so violent, as to make them neglect the most indispensable duties. One sister, instead of sweeping the house,

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1697-1700.

‘ would lean pensively upon her bosom. Another, instead of teaching the young girls, gave herself up to inspiration, and to the influence of the Spirit. They retired into secret corners, to amuse themselves privately with the new doctrine; and on pretence of aspiring to perfection, they disdained the observance of the common rules of the foundation.’ Godet des Marais, Bishop of Chartres, the Diocesan of St Cyr, perceived the growing disorder, and set himself to remedy it.

Des Marais
and
Fenelon.

‘ Des Marais was connected with Madame de Maintenon by the closest ties. He was her director, and director of St Cyr. His morals, his learning, his piety, his attention to the Episcopal duties were all eminent. He made but a few short visits to Paris; and on these occasions he lodged at St Sulpice. At Court he appeared still seldomer. But he used to see Madame de Maintenon frequently at St Cyr; and besides, by his letters, he could obtain from her whatever he wished. Fenelon aspired to the same confidence, and however well established that formidable rival, despaired not of supplanting him. The appearance of Des Marais, which was truly that of a pedant, his tall meager figure, his negligence of dress, his silly and awkward air, all concurred to give Fenelon hopes of success. The Bishop was believed to be a man without knowledge of the world, without abilities, and of a narrow
‘ mind,

‘ mind, whom the accident of having St Cyr in
‘ his diocese, had raised to notice; absorbed in
‘ the cares of his ministry, and destitute of cre-
‘ dit or connections, but with his priests. Ta-
‘ king all these circumstances together, it ap-
‘ peared to the Archbishop no hard matter to
‘ master such an opponent.

‘ Fenelon had observed, that Madame de
‘ Maintenon was not without some inclination
‘ for novelty. By this key he hoped to open the
‘ way for himself to her favour, and to exclude
‘ every other divine. We have seen that he
‘ succeeded in introducing Madame Guyon at
‘ St Cyr. Her visits thither became more and
‘ more frequent. She would spend whole days
‘ there, and sometimes several days together.
‘ On those occasions, she sought for fit disciples,
‘ and found them. By degrees she formed a
‘ small flock, whose language and spiritual ma-
‘ xims appeared strange to the rest, and espe-
‘ cially to the Bishop of Chartres.

‘ That Prelate was a very different character
‘ from what the Archbishop had fancied him.
‘ Although a learned and profound divine, he
‘ possessed at the same time genius, mildness,
‘ steadiness, and even sprightly elegance of
‘ manners, when he thought proper to display
‘ it. And what must appear surprising in a
‘ man so entirely given up to the duties of his
‘ office, he was so well qualified for the Court,
‘ and the intercourse of the world, that the most

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1697-1700.

‘ accomplished Courtiers might have profited by
 ‘ his lessons. But his talents of this kind were
 ‘ hid from others, and never exerted for his own
 ‘ benefit, except on important occasions. His
 ‘ piety, his disinterestedness, his singular charity,
 ‘ kept him poor with a liberal income; and Ma-
 ‘ dame de Maintenon had often to supply his
 ‘ wants.

‘ As soon as he learned what new doctrine was
 ‘ insinuating itself among the sisters of St Cyr,
 ‘ he introduced among them two of the ladies
 ‘ of St Lewis, with whose abilities and discern-
 ‘ ment he was well acquainted, and whose re-
 ‘ port would, he knew, have due influence with
 ‘ Madame de Maintenon. He selected them as
 ‘ fully attached to himself, and gave them the
 ‘ best instructions. The new profelytes appear-
 ‘ ed charmed with their directress; who, on her
 ‘ part, knowing their abilities, and their repu-
 ‘ tation in the house to which they belonged,
 ‘ valued herself on her conquest, which might
 ‘ smoothe the way of many difficulties. She
 ‘ then set herself to gain them entirely, and they
 ‘ became her favourite disciples. She unfolded
 ‘ to them the whole of her doctrines, as being
 ‘ best qualified to improve by them themselves,
 ‘ and to instil them into others. Thus Ma-
 ‘ dame Guyon and M. de Cambray, to whom
 ‘ she communicated her success, were highly
 ‘ flattered, and the little flock of their disciples
 ‘ were quite ravished.

‘ M.

‘ M. de Chartres observed them, and suffered
 ‘ them to go on. His faithful spies gave him
 ‘ an exact account of what they were taught,
 ‘ both in doctrine and practice. He thus made
 ‘ himself master of the whole secrets; and when
 ‘ he thought it due time, made them known.
 ‘ Madame de Maintenon was much surprised at
 ‘ what she heard of the new school; and still
 ‘ more at what he proved to her from the lips of
 ‘ his confidants, and from what they had com-
 ‘ mitted to writing. She examined the other
 ‘ scholars. By their answers, she perceived that
 ‘ however more or less instructed, more or less
 ‘ admitted to the confidence of their mistress,
 ‘ they all inclined the same way, a way which
 ‘ led them greatly aside from the plain and com-
 ‘ mon path of piety. This gave her great un-
 ‘ easiness, and excited many scruples in her
 ‘ mind. She spoke to the Bishop of Cambray.
 ‘ He not thinking her so well informed, endea-
 ‘ voured to justify his doctrine, and denied the
 ‘ consequences deduced from it; but only in-
 ‘ volved himself in perplexities, and added to
 ‘ her suspicions.

‘ Madame de Guyon was suddenly ex-
 ‘ pelled from St Cyr, and her books put into
 ‘ the hands of M. de Chartres. Madame de
 ‘ Maintenon set the first example of submission,
 ‘ and laboured earnestly to efface every prin-
 ‘ ciple that Madame de Guyon had taught. To
 ‘ accomplish this, cost no small pains; and the

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1697-1700.

PART III.
1697-1700.

‘ Bishop availed himself of the obstinate attachment of the converts to their new opinions, to show the danger of such new doctrines, and to make M. de Cambray the more suspected.’ Such a reverse of fortune, so very unexpected, astonished, but did not absolutely deject the Archbishop. He supported himself by ingenious reasoning and mystic authorities, which he produced in a book, intituled, ‘ *Explanation of the Maxims of the Saints.*’ The copies of this book were zealously dispersed by his friends; it was attacked by his opponents; he warmly defended it; however, after many conferences and explanations, it was condemned at Rome, on the 13th of March 1699. Fenelon, who had been by this time ordered to his diocese, submitted to the sentence, and issued an edict himself, condemning his work.

Cause of
Fenelon’s
disgrace.

On the occasion of Fenelon’s disgrace, it was recollected, that Madame de Maintenon had once attempted to obtain a public declaration of her marriage. It was said that Lewis, when she insisted repeatedly upon it, consulted Fenelon, and that he gave his advice against it; this was said to have come to the ears of the Lady, who thereupon resolved the ruin of the Archbishop, and made use of Quietism as a pretext. It is farther asserted, that to ruin Fenelon in the King’s estimation, she availed herself of the themes given by the Archbishop to the Duke of Burgundy, in which she persuaded the Monarch,

narch, that the Preceptor intended to censure his abilities, manners and government. It is true, indeed, that *Telemaque* affords passages, which when considered in reference to the conduct of Lewis XIV. might appear a satire. But, produced separately, as they naturally would be in the course of a classical education, in what other light could they be viewed, but as lessons in which the useful and the agreeable were united? at least, unless the Preceptor could be so indiscreet as to make the applications in the presence of his pupil, which would have been neither prudent nor suitable, and would have rendered him highly worthy of disgrace. But though he might not be so indiscreet himself, his enemies would readily enough accuse him of that. Yet, without the help of Quietism, they would certainly have been unsuccessful in their efforts against him.

As to Madame de Maintenon's insisting anew on a public acknowledgment of her marriage, it is hard to think, that after satisfying herself with a private marriage for fifteen years, she could still entertain a wish which must have gradually yielded to time and the force of habit. Yet if she did still cherish such a wish, and owed its disappointment to Fenelon, it was natural for her to view him with an eye of resentment, which might sometimes break out against him. But no where in her letters, does there appear any expression of rancour against her old friend. On

PART III.

1697-1700.

the contrary, she discovers a steady affection, in spite of the advice given her by a divine, whom she consulted, concerning the sentiments which it became her to entertain towards the Archbishop of Cambray. ‘Not only are we to lift ‘our voice,’ replied the casuist, ‘against the ‘Nestorians, but also against Nestorius; it is ‘scarce possible to hate heresy, yet love the heretic.’ She satisfied herself with giving but little credit to what the prelate advanced: ‘But,’ said she, ‘I am at ease.’

Perplexity
of Lewis
XIV.

Many people intermeddled in the affair of Quietism. Accusations and recriminations of heresy were urged, which must have given Lewis much perplexity when he sought to discover the truth. When, at the instigation of Bossuet and the Archbishop of Paris, he had determined to deal severely with the Archbishop of Cambray; Father la Chaize, who favoured him, remonstrated, that the Bishop of Meaux was jealous of Fenelon, and represented Noailles as prepossessed against him by the Jansenists, and himself a Jansenist. The Prelate, in his turn, reproached the Jesuit, for the encouragement which his society held out to relaxation of morals, and for their favourable sentiments of the Chinese rites, which favoured of idolatry. But the latter ground of complaint was little regarded by Lewis, the danger appeared too distant to affect him greatly. To the former article, Father la Chaize was indifferent; the loose morals
of

of the Monarch, were a sure defence to him against any attack from that quarter. In vain did Madame de Maintenon join the Archbishop, and exert all her influence to persuade the King to withdraw his confidence from a man whom he did not esteem. 'True,' replied he, 'la Chaie has his frailties; but have not I mine too?' Thus the Father derived strength from his very weakness. Skilful duplicity was the last talent that failed the Confessor. When all the adherents of the Archbishop of Cambray were dismissed from the Duke of Burgundy's household, 'The good Father praised all that was done, exclaimed against Madame de Guyon, then spoke as a Courtier; or if you please, as a Jesuit; only endeavouring to support the book at Rome.'

As in all these disputes, there were Bishops on both sides, Father la Chaie appears to have insinuated to Lewis, to beware of trusting to the determinations of any who were not attached to the Jesuits, for they were themselves attached only to the Holy See. The King entertained principles on this head which Madame de Maintenon believed it hard to overcome. With this idea, she wrote to the Archbishop of Paris; 'I have hinted to the King, that you are disposed to treat the Jesuits well, but will not suffer them to be your rulers; that it is rather your part to govern them. He must be gradually accustomed to this idea. He may, perhaps, be brought to bear

PART III.
1697-1700.

Low credit
of the Bi-
shops.

PART III.

1697-1700.

‘ bear with it. It was with difficulty that the
 ‘ Prince was convinced of his error, in thinking
 ‘ that Bishops ought to approve of Confessors,
 ‘ on the bare word of the superiors of the houses
 ‘ to which they belonged.’ If I understand a-
 right the following words, the Jesuits seem to
 have thought, that the Bishops should have no
 jurisdiction over them. ‘ Father la Chaise,’ says
 Madame de Maintenon, ‘ has made great com-
 ‘ plaints to the King, of the subjection to the
 ‘ Bishops. He surprises the King with such
 ‘ discourse. I have maliciously replied, That
 ‘ as he cannot bear to be subjected to them, he
 ‘ ought not to be their enemy. In short, the
 ‘ friends of Episcopal jurisdiction have somewhat
 ‘ to suffer at present.’

As she was open enough in her attacks on the
 Jesuits, they were not much more delicate in
 respect to her. Her letters afford alternately
 accounts of advantages she gained over them,
 and of mortifications which she suffered from
 them. Sometimes she would write in a style of
 triumph: ‘ The Jesuits were never so low as at
 ‘ present. Father la Chaise dare not speak.
 ‘ Their best friends pity them.’ At other times
 she would complain of their haughty conduct,
 which indicated the revival of their power and
 credit. On one of these occasions, ‘ Father la
 ‘ Chaise,’ said she, ‘ has paid me a visit which
 ‘ seemed rather intended as an insult than an

‘ act

‘ act of kindness. I shall soon be a Jansenist
‘ myself.’

PART III.

1697-1700.

Jansenists.

These vicissitudes prove in what perplexity Lewis must have found himself, among rivals equal in dexterity and address, contending for the first place in his confidence. That was what the Jansenists never could obtain. From his youth they had been described to him, and he continued to regard them all his life, as a dangerous cabal, a sect inimical to all authority. Madame de Maintenon entertained the same idea of them, at least if we judge of her sentiments by a sort of confession of faith which she sent to a young woman who had been bred in St Cyr. ‘ In the New Testament, you will find,
‘ that a good tree bears good fruits; and you
‘ will perceive, that the fruits of the Jansenists
‘ are evil. They shake off the yoke of the
‘ church; they openly condemn the Pope; they
‘ do not indeed loudly blame the King, but
‘ they say, he is deceived; they refuse any other
‘ dependence, but that of converting women to
‘ their sentiments. These they tell, that they
‘ are able to judge of matters of doctrine. You
‘ can perceive in them neither true humility,
‘ nor Christian obedience; virtues peculiarly
‘ suitable to our sex, who, whatever our natural abilities, are ignorant in these matters. It
‘ is a great happiness for us, that our sex, and
‘ the weakness of our capacities, confine us to
‘ implicit submission; as this is the easiest and
‘ surest

PART III.

1697-1700.

Cardinal
Bouillon.

‘ surest way ; but we have not the good sense
‘ to avail ourselves of our natural advantages.’

Cardinal Bouillon was sent to Rome about the affair of Quietism. That Prelate, who was nephew to Marshal Turenne, and Grand Almoner of France, raised himself many enemies by his haughtiness. He even sometimes behaved impertinently to Lewis XIV. who forgave him. Louvois, whom he treated with open insult, was not equally indulgent. That Minister caused him lose the Principality of Liege. While yet a young man, Bouillon entertained the public with a memorial in which he produced the most extravagant pretensions concerning the nobility of his family, and which disoblged the King. At the marriage of the Dutchess, he suffered an affront. He would eat at the King’s table ; but was refused the honour. The consequence was, that he refused to celebrate the marriage, and was banished*.

In his extreme eagerness to promote the grandeur of his family, the Cardinal pressed Monsieur to give up that part of the Dauphiny of Auvergne which constituted the Dutchy of Montpensier, to satisfy the pretensions of the family of Bouillon, as heirs of Mademoiselle. The family of Bouillon would thereby have become proprietors of all Auvergne ; for the Cardinal

* Choisy. — Reboulet. — La Beaumelle. — Avrigny. — Mademoiselle.

dinal enjoyed the Dutchy, and his brother the county; and the eldest son would consequently have taken the title of *Dauphin of Auvergne*. The King opposed the partition. The Cardinal was much disappointed at failing in so splendid a project, and expressed his dissatisfaction to the King's brother, in a letter not very respectful. It made Monsieur say peevishly, 'Will he never have done troubling people about his family?'

PART III.
1697-1702.

When sent to Rome about the affair of Quietism, Bouillon regulated his conduct more by his affection to Fenelon, than agreeably to the orders of the King. Lewis XIV. recalled him. He refused to obey, on pretence of being detained by his functions as Deacon of the sacred College. His revenues in France were confiscated. He made his submission, and had his property restored. But not being permitted to appear at Court, he became weary of living in a state of exile, and again left the kingdom. He was punished in the same manner as before. Again he had recourse to submission; and after languishing and wandering about for a long while, he was at last restored to the enjoyment of his revenues; and, at the same time, obtained permission to end his obscurity at Rome; whereas, with less vanity and obstinacy, he might have passed his life in peace and affluence in France.

The

PART III.

1698-1700.

Lauzun.

The peace of Ryfwick was no sooner signed, than Lewis XIV. entertained his grandson, the Duke of Burgundy, with a bloodless representation of war in a mimic camp that was formed in 1698*. A piece of malice in Lauzun, respecting this military entertainment, affords us an opportunity of bringing that Minister again upon the stage, and making him conclude his part.

‘ At the death of Mademoiselle, he put on a
 ‘ sort of mourning. They had long before
 ‘ given up seeing each other. Madame de
 ‘ Fiesque, Lady of the bed-chamber to the
 ‘ Princess, gave the following account of the
 ‘ origin of their final quarrel. Lauzun, during
 ‘ some time which he spent at the city of Eu,
 ‘ could not forbear from intrigues of gallantry.
 ‘ Mademoiselle being informed of his conduct,
 ‘ was highly enraged, scratched him with her
 ‘ nails, and determined to banish him for ever
 ‘ from her presence. I signified her order to
 ‘ him; and the Princess appeared at the end of
 ‘ the gallery to confirm it. From the other end
 ‘ where he stood, he crept on his knees all the
 ‘ way to the feet of Mademoiselle, and obtained
 ‘ her forgiveness. Similar, and even more vio-
 ‘ lent scenes recurred. At last, weary of sub-
 ‘ mission, he treated her, in his turn, with the
 ‘ freedom of a husband. They became sick of
 ‘ reconciliations, and resolved on a final separa-
 ‘ tion.

‘ In

* St Simon, t. 5. p. 318. 376.

‘ In the beginning of the century, Lauzun married Mademoiselle de Lorges, a very sensible and virtuous woman, and through the remaining part of a long life, kept one of the most splendid houses about Court, the best table, morning and evening, in town and in the country, with the best company assembled round it. In the presence of the King, he still maintained a degree of freedom, which, though less indeed than what he had formerly enjoyed, yet allowed him both to say and do things which others durst not. In the camp of Compiègne, he gave an instance.

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1698-1700.

‘ The office of Colonel-General of the dragoons had been created for him, but was then enjoyed by the Count de Tefsé. Two days before the review of that body, Lauzun, accosting the Colonel with an air of kindness and simplicity, which he knew well how to assume, asked him, If he had considered in what manner to salute his Majesty when he passed at the head of the dragoons? They then entered on the particulars of the dress, the horse, and the equipage. ‘ All that is very well,’ said Lauzun, ‘ but the hat, you don’t mention it.’ “ A hat—!” replied Tefsé, in surprise, ‘ I mean to wear a cap.’ ‘ A cap!’ replied Lauzun, “ Is that your intention? A cap is very suitable for others; but the General wear a cap! “ In truth, Sir, there is something else which “ you think not of.’ Tefsé still more surprised,

‘ asks

PART III.
1698-1700.

‘ asks ‘ What?’ and entreats him in the most
‘ earnest manner to let him know. ‘ Since you
“ are so very earnest to know,’ says Lauzun,
“ I should be sorry to leave you to be guilty of
“ a blunder. Your post was created on purpose
“ for me, and nobody knows better what di-
“ stinctions belong to it; the principal of these,
“ is the honour of wearing a gray hat when
“ the King reviews the dragoons.’ Tefsé con-
‘ fesses his ignorance, thanks Lauzun in the
‘ warmest manner, and instantly dispatches one
‘ of his servants to Paris, to bring him a gray
‘ hat.

‘ On the morning of the review,’ continues
St Simon, ‘ I went to the King’s levee. There
‘ I saw M. de Lauzun, who used to have pri-
‘ vate audiences of his Majesty, wait, contrary
‘ to his usual custom, till every body else came
‘ in. I saw likewise the Count de Tefsé make
‘ his appearance with his gray hat and a large
‘ cockade. While I was remarking this sin-
‘ gular piece of dress, the King turned and took
‘ notice of the hat. He held gray hats in ab-
‘ horrence; and his Courtiers had, for a number
‘ of years, ceased wearing them before him. In
‘ great surprise, he asked of Tefsé, ‘ Where he
“ had got it?’ Tefsé, with great self-satisf-
‘ faction, replied, ‘ That he had it from Paris.’
“ And why from Paris?’ ‘ Because, Sire, your
“ Majesty does us the honour to review us to-
“ day.’ ‘ How! a gray hat upon that account?’
‘ Tefsé

‘ Telsé, beginning to feel embarrassed, stammers
 ‘ out; ‘ It is the privilege of the Colonel-Ge-
 ‘ neral to wear a gray hat on such a day.’
 ‘ Where the devil learned you that?’ ‘ M. de
 ‘ Lauzun, for whom the office was first inti-
 ‘ tuted, told me.’ At this the good Duke, who
 ‘ was standing at a small distance behind, al-
 ‘ most stifled with laughter, disappeared among
 ‘ the crowd. The King smiled. Telsé’s friends
 ‘ blamed him for giving implicit credit to Lau-
 ‘ zun, whom he might have known better.’

Malicious wit was so natural to him, that he
 could not help indulging in it, even on the most
 solemn occasions. ‘ When very ill, and almost
 ‘ at the point of death, he observed, through an
 ‘ opening at the foot of the bed, his heirs wait-
 ‘ ing concealed behind the curtain; because he
 ‘ had let them know, that he did not care much
 ‘ to see them. The dying man, suspicious of
 ‘ the motives which brought them there, began
 ‘ to pray aloud, as if he had thought himself
 ‘ alone. ‘ O Lord,’ said he, in a tone of the
 ‘ deepest contrition; ‘ O Lord forgive my sins!
 “ I feel, at this moment, all the bitterness of
 “ remorse, for the irregular course of my life.
 “ Grant me but time for repentance, and let
 “ the poor be my intercessors with thee. On
 “ them I bestow all that I possess. The hospi-
 “ tals shall be my sole heirs. Happy that I
 “ have this resource remaining, I embrace it
 “ with all my heart.’ To complete their mor-
 Vol. II. E tification,

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1698-1700.

‘ tification, he sent for a notary, and actually
 ‘ dictated a will, in which he bequeathed his
 ‘ property to the poor, but did not sign it. His
 ‘ health was restored; and he had then leisure
 ‘ to laugh at the farce. It was entertaining
 ‘ too, to see how he managed Languet, Vicar
 ‘ of St Sulpice. He promised him a donation
 ‘ for his church, retracted his promise, renewed
 ‘ it, and after keeping the Vicar long in su-
 ‘ spense between hope and fear, gave at last
 ‘ nothing *.’

But this man who took so much delight in giving others pain, and laughed at their uneasiness, was himself incessantly tormented by a gnawing worm which he carried about in his bosom. ‘ All the fortune that he enjoyed appeared nothing to him, in comparison with what he had been disappointed of; his credit trifling, in comparison with what he thought his due. He took inconceivable pains to make himself of some consequence in State affairs,—to be sent an Ambassador,—employed in negotiation,—or to obtain, in short, any concern whatever in the direction of public matters. When beyond the age of eighty, he solicited to be made a Marshal of France. He was constantly unhappy, and imagined and said of himself, that he was in the deepest disgrace. He held every year a sort of anniversary, in
 ‘ commemoration

* St Simon, t. 5. p. 372. 370.

‘ commemoration of the day of his misfortune ; PART III.
 ‘ he was habitually melancholy, absent, and so- 1698-1702.
 ‘ litary ; and, among other things, could never
 ‘ be consoled for the loss of the Captaincy of
 ‘ the Guards. As long as he could, he wore the
 ‘ uniform ; or, rather, a habit nearly resembling
 ‘ the uniform,—a blue coat with silver lace,
 ‘ in which he appeared more like a Captain of
 ‘ huntsmen than a Captain of the Guards. He
 ‘ was sensible of the ridiculous figure which he
 ‘ made, and acknowledged it, but made no
 ‘ change.’

More than forty years after missing that employment, he felt his loss as sensibly as at the first. At a review of the Guards, he gave a proof of this. ‘ It was to take place in the
 ‘ neighbourhood of his country-seat. Madame de
 ‘ Lauzun, out of complaisance to a young Lady
 ‘ who was curious to see the review, proposed,
 ‘ and hinted it to her husband, but with great
 ‘ delicacy, as she knew his weak side. Not-
 ‘ withstanding, he broke into a rage at table,
 ‘ and said the most disobliging things to his
 ‘ wife, without regarding either her tears, or
 ‘ the confusion of the company ; after which,
 ‘ he maintained a fullen silence that alarmed
 ‘ every one.

‘ I was there at the time,’ says St Simon,
 ‘ and I went back next day, with an intention
 ‘ to tell him plainly my mind concerning the
 ‘ scene that had passed on the preceding even-

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1698-1700.

ing. As soon as he saw me, he came up with open arms, and exclaimed, ' I am a madman, and deserve bedlam, rather than the kindness of a visit from you. I am in despair, after what has happened. My wife is an adorable woman; I have used her ill, and ought to kiss her feet. But, in truth, my friend,' added he, with tears in his eyes, ' I am rather an object of pity than of anger. I must confess to you my shame and misery. I am beyond eighty, and have neither child nor successor. Although I were Captain of the Guards, I could not do the duties of the post. This I am always saying to myself; yet can I never make myself easy for missing it. For such a series of years have I had a dagger in my heart. Whatever renews the remembrance, transports me out of myself; and only to think that my wife would go to see a review of the Guards, where I should be nobody, turned my head. I am a madman, a madman who deserves confinement. Have pity on a frantic old man. I cast myself at your feet. Make peace between my wife and me: Ask her to forgive me.' So sincere, and so painful a confession affected me: I thought only how to reconcile them, and console him. The reconciliation was not hard to bring about. It was not without difficulty we prevailed with him to leave his chamber; and he was for a good while ashamed to show himself.

' Since

‘ Since that occasion,’ continues the same writer, ‘ I have often reflected on the extreme
‘ misery of suffering one’s self to be so fascinated
‘ by the world; I have trembled to think on the
‘ dangerous state of the ambitious man, whose
‘ desires, neither riches, nor the most agreeable
‘ domestic circumstances, nor dignities, nor age,
‘ nor bodily infirmities, are sufficient to moderate; and who, instead of enjoying what he
‘ possesses, and making himself happy, exhausts
‘ himself in unavailing complaints, and voluntarily drinks of the cup of bitterness.

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1698-1700.

‘ With all the appearance of delicacy, Lauzun had one of the hardiest of constitutions.
‘ He eat largely of all sorts of food, and at all
‘ seasons, without suffering any inconvenience.
‘ But a little before his last illness, when he was
‘ eighty-nine years of age, he mounted mettlesome horses. At that age, he rode a colt
‘ scarce broke to the saddle, an hundred times
‘ backwards and forwards, in the presence of
‘ the whole Court, who admired his dexterity,
‘ his gracefulness, and the steadiness with which
‘ he kept his seat. The disease which terminated his days, was frightful and severe. It
‘ was a cancer on the lip. He suffered with
‘ amazing fortitude, without complaint, without ill humour, without any of those fits of
‘ peevishness which had once rendered him insufferable even to himself. He confined himself to an apartment which had been prepared

PART III.

1698-1700.

‘ for him in the convent of the *Petits-Augustins*.
 ‘ He there spent his time in reading good books,
 ‘ and in pious conferences with his confessor,
 ‘ and other clergymen. Few were admitted to
 ‘ him. When you went to see him, you saw
 ‘ nothing unsuitable, nothing that indicated a
 ‘ mind so overpowered by pain, as to be careless
 ‘ of propriety about him; he discovered polite-
 ‘ ness of manners, and tranquillity of temper;
 ‘ he took his part in conversation, but not with
 ‘ great spirit; and about what was passing in
 ‘ the world, was extremely indifferent. He
 ‘ could not then speak without difficulty; and,
 ‘ it was plain, that he attempted it only that he
 ‘ might not deny himself to company. He said
 ‘ little or nothing about moral subjects, and still
 ‘ less about his own condition. In this uniform
 ‘ tenor of painful fortitude and tranquillity he
 ‘ lived four months, and died in the year 1723,
 ‘ at the age of ninety.’

Camp of
Compiègne.

The camp of Compiègne, already mentioned,
 was very splendid. Marshal Boufflers command-
 ed, and did the honours of the camp. He treat-
 ed the King and the whole Court in an ama-
 zingly sumptuous manner. ‘ Lewis XIV. was
 ‘ much pleased to see, and to show the Ladies
 ‘ the troops, the army, the encampment, the
 ‘ divisions, the detachments, marches, foraging
 ‘ expeditions, rencounters, convoys, skirmishes,
 ‘ general engagements,—in a perfect image of
 ‘ war in all its forms. The Duke of Burgundy,
 ‘ for

‘ for whom it was chiefly intended, took a part
 ‘ in all that was going on. The Dutcheſs of
 ‘ Burgundy was often preſent with a train of
 ‘ Ladies ſuperbly dreſſed. Never was there a
 ‘ more brilliant ſight. The Monarch diſplayed
 ‘ in the camp, a degree of magnificence un-
 ‘ known at the moſt celebrated tournaments, or
 ‘ at the interviews of the moſt famous Kings.

PART III.
 1698-1700.

‘ The deſign of Lewis is ſaid to have been
 ‘ to aſtoniſh all Europe, and to impreſs the na-
 ‘ tions with a dread of his power. He ſucceed-
 ‘ ed. But, inſtead of that ruinous oſtentation,
 ‘ he had better have filled his coffers and ma-
 ‘ gazines by prudent œconomy, and ſuffered
 ‘ his kingdom to renew its population, and re-
 ‘ cover the ſtrength which it waſted in the laſt
 ‘ war,—to repair the navy, to raiſe commerce
 ‘ from its languiſhing ſtate, and to put itſelf in
 ‘ a condition in which it might not merely ſeem
 ‘ formidable, but be ſo in reality, if the events
 ‘ which appeared at no great diſtance ſhould
 ‘ compel him to take arms anew.’

Inſtead of œconomy, Lewis ſeems to have be-
 lieved, that now, when the expences of the war
 were no longer to be ſupplied, he need not
 ſpend a thought on parſimony. ‘ Another
 ‘ range of buildings are to be raiſed at the ex-
 ‘ pence of a hundred thouſand francs,’ writes
 Madame de Maintenon, on the 19th of July
 1698. ‘ Marly will ſoon be a ſecond Verſailles.
 ‘ I have given offence in a converſation about

Buildings.

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 1698-1700.

‘ the buildings. What grieves me, is to have
 ‘ put myself in pain to no purpose. I have only
 ‘ to ask pardon, and to take no more notice.
 ‘ But the people, what will become of them?’
 Yet Lewis sought to persuade others, and was
 himself persuaded, that he was not possessed
 with such a rage for building; and, on the 28th
 of July, nine days after he had listened impa-
 tiently to the æconomical advices of Madame de
 Maintenon, he said, in her presence, to M. de
 Pontchartrain, who proposed to take down Ven-
 dome Square, and build another after plans by
 Mansard, ‘ M. de Louvois has done it almost
 ‘ against my will. All those Ministers wish to
 ‘ do something which may do them honour with
 ‘ posterity. They have found out the secret of
 ‘ representing me through Europe, as fond of
 ‘ such vanities. Madame there knows what
 ‘ vexation Messieurs de Louvois and Feuillade
 ‘ have given me on this head. I wish to spare
 ‘ myself such uneasiness in future; and would,
 ‘ therefore, have nothing of the kind proposed
 ‘ to me. While my people are well supported,
 ‘ I shall always be well enough lodged.’ But
 however good resolutions Princes may form,
 they are so unfortunate as to have constantly
 about them, men who eagerly court their favour
 by studying and flattering their inclinations,
 who readily remove every scruple that may ren-
 der them unwilling to put the people to ex-
 pence;

pence, concealing their sufferings, and keeping their complaints at a distance.

PART III.

1700-3.

Spanish
succession.

The eighteenth century began with a great event. Charles II. King of Spain, at his death, left his Crown to the Duke of Anjou, second son to the Dauphin; and Lewis XIV. accepted the testament in favour of his grandson. Never was an acquisition of territory obtained in an easier manner than that in which the extensive States of the Spanish Monarchy appeared at first likely to be transferred into the hands of the House of Bourbon. England, Holland, Portugal, the Duke of Bavaria, the Duke of Savoy, all acknowledged the rights of Philip V. The Emperor alone, who, by his own imprudence, had missed so fine an inheritance, protested against the rights of Philip. The Spaniards acquiesced with a degree of enthusiasm, in the will of their deceased Monarch; and his successor, at the age of seventeen, set out from France, on the 4th of September 1700.

He appeared to have been born for the throne on which he was accidentally placed. 'Endowed with a coolness of temper unsusceptible of animation, nothing,' says Madame de Maintenon, 'could make him divest himself of that gravity which seemed to have been impressed upon him in his mother's womb *.' The King and the Dauphin took leave of their son at Sceaux. 'I shall never forget the scene,'

Departure
of King
Philip for
Spain.

writes

* Lettres de Maintenon, t. 5. p. 16. 4.

PART III.
 1700-3.

writes the same Lady, ' in which our Princes
 ' discovered such affecting mutual tenderness.
 ' Whatever it might cost them, I was charmed
 ' with it. I could not have believed a Prince
 ' susceptible of so much sensibility.'

His two brothers, the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, accompanied him to the frontier between the kingdoms; and several young noblemen attended him into Spain. They left a blank at the Court of France, which some ladies could ill enough endure. Madame de Maintenon writing to her nephew, the Duke d'Ayen, who was in the train, describes, with a good deal of gaiety, the different feelings which prevailed through the deserted circle. ' Whom do
 ' you ask news of?' says she, ' Of the Ladies of
 ' the bed-chamber, to be sure. Your foible
 ' must be indulged. Madame de Dangeau is
 ' become as surprising at trictrac as at every
 ' thing else. Madame de Roucy is going to
 ' bear a child. Madame de Nogaret is at last
 ' pregnant. Madame d'O has kept her bed
 ' ever since her husband went away, viewing
 ' the place which he used to occupy, and crying, ' Alas! he is there no longer.' At uttering this sigh, she falls into a fit, feathers are burnt under her nose, and Gervias called! Sometimes she fancies herself a dove, and sometimes a Bacchanal*! What shall I say of
 ' the

* Madame de Maintenon seems to have had very little compassion on people troubled with the vapours.

‘ the fatness of Madame de Chatelet, of the slenderness of the indolent Levy, of the rosy complexion of Madame de Montgon, of the loud laughter of the Countess d’Estrées, of the treble pipe of Madame d’Ayen, of the gout of the Lady of honour; or lastly,’ speaking of herself, ‘ of the dexterity with which the Lady of the wardrobe turns her spindle?’ She also puts questions relative to the King of Spain: ‘ How is he dressed? To whom speaks he oftenest, and with the greatest satisfaction? What part of his time does he appropriate to business; and how much to pleasures? Is he gay? Has he enough of gloomy fits for a Spaniard and a King?’

PART III.
1700-3.

Philip V. was married on the 11th of September 1701, to Maria Louisa of Savoy, sister to the Dutchess of Burgundy; and at her marriage, only thirteen years of age. ‘ She was of a small, but charming figure, with a fine complexion; eyes full of mildness, yet sparkling with vivacity; witty, sensible, amiably condescending in her manners, not deficient in spirit, and qualified to act her part as a Queen to a wonder.’ She afterwards displayed courage and constancy of mind in a degree superior to what could be expected of her age, and such as seldom appears in her sex. The young King was allowed to possess a great deal of good sense; but his character was degraded by a turn of indolence

1701-4.
Marriage
of Philip V.

PART III.
1701-4.

The Prin-
cess Urfini.

dolence, originally impressed, perhaps, or at least increased by his subjection to continual restraint, and maintained by the habitual coolness and *stillness* of his temper.

The young couple, strangers to each other, and equally unacquainted with their kingdom and subjects, needed some prudent intelligent person to unite and to direct them. The Princess Urfini was thought qualified for this task. Her name was Anne-Marie de la Tremouille de Noirmoutier, widow by her first marriage of Talleyrand, Prince de Chalais, and by her second, of Duke Bracciano, a Grandee of Spain, and head of the family of Urfini. ‘ She had
‘ spent a part of her life in foreign countries,
‘ was acquainted with the Spanish customs, and
‘ to these qualifications joined a great share of
‘ understanding, and finished politeness. She
‘ appeared better qualified than any other per-
‘ son, to instruct the young Princess in the art
‘ of supporting her dignity. It was hoped, that
‘ the Spaniards would not view her as a fo-
‘ reigner ; and yet, that she would be so much
‘ a French woman, as to take no part in the in-
‘ trigues and cabals of the Court of Madrid.’

We have seen, that she once deigned to take some notice of the widow Scaron ; but without affording her assistance. On this occasion, when she wished to procure an establishment in the Court of Spain, she had recourse to Madame de Maintenon,

Maintenon, ‘who,’ says she, ‘had the goodness
‘to mention it to the King.’ And this haugh-
ty, rich, and independent Lady obtained, with
the title of *Camerera Major*, the ‘right of taking
‘up the King of Spain’s night-gown when he
‘went to bed, giving him it and his slippers
‘when he arose in the morning, the pleasure of
‘never sitting down to a meal, of being called
‘sometimes two hours earlier than she would
‘have chosen to arise, of doing all little parti-
‘cular services about the young Queen; and,
‘lastly, the advantage on which she values her-
‘self, of emulating the dexterity of the Pied-
‘montese waiting-maids *.’ But she had her
object, which was to gain the confidence of the
young couple, and she succeeded.

There was likewise need for a man to keep
up a good correspondence between the cabinets
of Versailles and Madrid. For this trust, Lewis
chose Cardinal d’Estrées, whom he recalled from
Venice, where he had been employed in nego-
ciation, and sent him to Spain. This Monarch
often employed Prelates adorned with purple,
in affairs of consequence;—with only one re-
striction, of which St Simon informs us, when
speaking of Cardinal Janson: ‘The dispatches
‘which

PART III.

1701-4.

Cardinals
d’Estrées
and Janson.

* The Princess Ursini writes to M. de Noailles, ‘I am
‘sure the Queen’s Piedmontese woman could not wash or
‘warm her feet so well as I.’ Noailles, t. 2. p. 171.

PART III.

1701-4.

‘ which he sent from Rome, where he resided
 ‘ seven years, gave so much satisfaction to Lewis,
 ‘ that, on his return, the Monarch said, in the
 ‘ presence of his Council, that he thought it
 ‘ unfortunate he could not make a Minister of
 ‘ him.’ ‘ Since he enjoys the honour of your
 ‘ Majesty’s esteem, why not make him a Mi-
 ‘ nister?’ said Torcy. The King replied,
 ‘ When, on the death of Cardinal Mazarine, I
 ‘ assumed the management of affairs into my
 ‘ own hands, I then resolved, for the very best
 ‘ reasons, never to admit an Ecclesiastic, and
 ‘ especially a Cardinal, into my Council. I
 ‘ have hitherto adhered to my resolution, and
 ‘ will not now alter it. It is true that he is
 ‘ possessed of superior abilities, and I need not
 ‘ fear the same vexations from him as from
 ‘ others; but such an example, I do not wish to
 ‘ give. And yet, I cannot help lamenting, that
 ‘ my resolution puts it out of my power to avail
 ‘ myself of the services of so worthy a sub-
 ‘ ject *.’

Cardinal d’Estrées was likewise highly esteem-
 ed by Lewis XIV. When he sent him to his
 grandson,

* Had Lewis XIV. been a little better read in history, he would not have scrupled to avail himself of the services of an order of men, whose talents in administration have been so often beneficial to France, from the establishment of the Monarchy to the present day.

grandson, ' he believed him the ablest man in ' his kingdom.' But he had not observed, that the abilities of his Eminence were on the decline. We seldom remark the ravages of time on our cotemporaries when we are ourselves equally affected by them *.

PART III.
1701-4.

But what Lewis could not avoid observing, all his cotemporaries were now disappearing from about him. On the 9th of June 1701, he lost his brother whom he sincerely loved; though he had never communicated State affairs to him, either because he did not think highly of his discretion, or in adherence to the resolution which he had formed, with the policy of a Prince, of never admitting into his Council, any of the Grandees of his kingdom. The Duke de Chartres, his son, inherited the title and honours of Duke of Orleans.

On

* Cardinal d'Estrées, when he became old, had still a fine set of teeth, which the largeness of his mouth exposed to view. When he was one day dining with the King, his Majesty, who was fond of his conversation, complained to him of his want of teeth. ' Ah! Sire,' returned his Eminence, smiling, ' Who has teeth?'

' The King took Cardinal Polignac to Marly, and shewed ' him his gardens, which was a great favour. A shower ' coming on, the King expressed himself sorry to see him exposed to rain in a very unsuitable dress.' The Cardinal exclaimed, ' Ah! Sire, at Marly, rain does not wet a person.' One of these repartees is gay, the other insipid: The reader may apply. *St Simon, t. 2. p. 102. t. 3. p. 35.*

PART III.
 1701-4.

On the 16th of September, in the same year, died at St Germain-en-Laye, James II. who had never been any thing but an incumbrance on France. At the earnest request of the Queen Dowager, Lewis solemnly recognised her son, the Prince of Wales, King of England: An impolitic piece of complaisance, which William heard of with high indignation, and determined to revenge; but died himself, on the 19th of March 1702.

Barbescieux.

Some time before these personages, died Barbescieux, son to Louvois, and Minister of the war department. He brought on his own death, by seeking to join a life of intemperate pleasure with the laborious attention to business which the circumstances of France at that time required. ‘What a subject of reflection!’ exclaims Madame de Maintenon. ‘M. de Barbescieux is dead in the flower of his age, in the midst of prosperity, with the fairest prospect of a rising fortune. He had but an instant to prepare himself for appearing in the presence of God; and that instant, his habitual worldly mindedness made him share in a manner shamefully unequal, between making his testament and making his confession.’ The unfortunate Chamillart, already sinking under the burden of the finances, was now obliged to take also the direction of the war-office. The motions going on in the other Courts of Europe, rendered the prospect of war already certain; and,

and, by way of preparation, the King, who, during the four years of peace, had not retrenched his expences in the smallest degree, began with renewing the levy of the poll-tax.

PART III.
1703-6.

As King William, who had been the soul of all the intrigues against France, was now dead, the French Court flattered themselves that they had less to fear from any of those leagues which unite the powers of several kingdoms against one. It was imagined, that to secure the Crown to Philip, and preserve peace, nothing would be necessary, but to give up some parts of his vast dominions to the Princes who thought themselves injured by the will. With this view, a part of the Low Countries was ceded to the Elector of Bavaria, whose alliance might be of great consequence. Negotiations were at the same time begun with the others. But, as the House of Bourbon were in actual possession, they were less liberal in satisfying the claims of pretenders, than the House of Austria were in promises to satisfy them.

League
against
France.

One can be at no loss to conceive how the Emperor gained the English, who are ever ready to take part against France; the Portuguese, who were tempted with the hopes of sharing the spoils of their neighbours; or the Dutch, who had regarded William as their oracle;—and to whom their beloved Stadtholder had bequeathed his hatred against Lewis. But it cannot appear otherwise than surprising, that

PART III.
 1703-6.

Victor Amadeus, whose eldest daughter was married to the presumptive heir of the French Crown, and his youngest to the Prince actually seated on the throne of Spain, should have joined a confederacy, the success of which must have dethroned the one, and considerably lessened the dominions of the other.

The Duke
 of Savoy.

We have no other means but conjecture, to account for this singular phænomenon in the political world. We set out with this principle, that the Duke of Savoy's love for his children, was not so strong as his ambition to aggrandize his throne. He hoped, no doubt, to succeed, through the influence which he still retained over the Queen of Spain; and, with that view, wished that the Piedmontese servants who attended her might not be dismissed. 'But it was understood,' says the Frenchman who was employed to receive her Majesty when she passed through France *, 'that little projects for managing her, had been formed at Turin,' and all her household were sent away. This was the first thing which gave Victor uneasiness. In the *next* place, the Council of Versailles, in their negotiations with this Prince, varied their offers according to circumstances. They had proposed to the Duke an exchange of Savoy for the Milanese. This offer he accepted. But the French Ambassador, receiving new orders from

* Noailles, t. 2. p. 165.

from his Court, availed himself of a small difficulty that had arisen, to retract his Master's promise. 'Your kindness comes in fits that are very soon over,' said the disappointed Savoyard, without insisting more upon the matter. The Emperor would, no doubt, seize the opportunity to gain him, possibly by the very same offer,—using perhaps such address as to give the offer the appearance of a substantial donation; while Victor, who was not of a character to stickle at acts of treachery, when he changed sides with a view to advantage, would secretly reserve the right of returning to his primary engagements, whenever his exertions for the House of Austria threatened to be too injurious to his sons-in-law. A Prince of such profound discernment, and so much political sagacity, would probably foresee, from the condition in which things then were, both in France and Spain, that the war must terminate with a partition of territories, of which there was no way for him to obtain a share, except by joining the league against the two Crowns; and, in case France and Spain were victorious, the worst thing that could befall him, was to fail in his hopes of enlarging his dominions; while he might flatter himself, that his children would not suffer him to be deprived of what he already possessed.

Indeed, a man of any skill in penetrating into futurity, might have easily foreseen, that the House of Bourbon was about to experience an

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1703-6.

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awful reverse of fortune. After beginning in the most splendid manner, every thing in both kingdoms was now sinking into ruin. France, by the imposition of new taxes, discovered the exhausted state of her finances. Her arsenals and magazines were destitute of arms and ammunition. Her regiments were deficient in numbers, and enervated by neglect of discipline. Lewis XIV. showed himself afraid of war; and all his counsels were conducted with the languor and timid circumspection of age.

The affection of the Spaniards to their young Sovereigns, was still unabated. But dissatisfactions and jealousies had arisen to make the Nobles retire from Court. The letters of Lewis XIV. were observed to be marked with too much of the grandfather's tenderness, too many fears, and too much concern about small matters as well as great. Every thing seemed to have been foreseen and provided against in France. From France they were supplied with Generals, Ministers, and Financiers. The Spaniards were mortified at seeing all affairs managed by strangers. Those strangers even quarrelled among themselves. Madame d'Urfini being accused by Cardinal d'Estrées, was obliged to repair to France, to give an account of her conduct. She returned after justifying herself. His Eminence was recalled in his turn; and the Abbé d'Estrées, who succeeded his uncle, did not sustain his credit against the *Camerera Major*.
 These

These changes were all displeasing to the Spaniards, whose national character is distinguished by firmness and steadiness. They were disgusted on finding their Monarch so indifferent about their customs, as to refuse to assist at an *Auto-da-fe*; and the Queen proposed to change the etiquette. That young Princess was equally disgusted with the gravity of the Spanish ladies. She wrote to Madame de Maintenon, ‘ Madame d’Urfini will tell you how diverting they are, and whether I be wrong in preferring solitude and my room to their society.’ A Frenchman very frankly honours them with the respectful denomination of *furies*. Whatever precautions the Queen might use to conceal her dislike, those Ladies could not but perceive, and be offended at it. Either influenced by the sentiments of their Ladies, or for other reasons, many Noblemen who had been at first attached to Philip V. renounced their allegiance. From the Grandees, the spirit of dissatisfaction was communicated to the people, and many provinces shewed a disposition to revolt. Leopold, who had none of the timid circumspection of Lewis, then urged the affair, and in the year 1704, caused his second son, Charles, to assume the title of King of Spain.

Thus began the misfortunes of France. St Simon attributes them to the feeble administration of Lewis XIV. even at the period of his accepting the Spanish succession. ‘ That whole

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Blunder of
Lewis XIV.

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‘ Monarchy had fallen, without the least effort,
 ‘ into the hands of his grandson. The indolence of temper which he discovered, even
 ‘ when he took upon him so weighty a burden,
 ‘ and the timid counsels of his Ministers, which
 ‘ were regulated by the inclinations of their
 ‘ Prince, prepared things for the dreadful reverse of fortune which followed. Puyféguir,
 ‘ then Lieutenant-General, had the glory of
 ‘ projecting and executing the project by which
 ‘ all the fortified places in the Spanish frontiers
 ‘ were secured at once, without the discharge
 ‘ of a single gun. He seized and disarmed the
 ‘ Dutch troops, of which the garrisons were
 ‘ composed. His advice was to detain them
 ‘ prisoners. Villars concurred in opinion with
 ‘ him. But Lewis, while flushed with this unexpected piece of good fortune, happened unluckily to recollect what clamours the injustice
 ‘ of his former wars had raised against him, and
 ‘ that the general alarm which he had excited
 ‘ through Europe, had produced those powerful
 ‘ combinations against him, under which he
 ‘ considered himself as humbled. He wished to
 ‘ avoid this in future; and therefore, instead of
 ‘ availing himself of the consternation which so
 ‘ great an event had excited among his enemies
 ‘ and rivals, and detaining those garrisons prisoners till he should compel those Powers, before they could take arms, or act in concert,
 ‘ to acknowledge, by formal treaties, the Duke

‘ of

‘ of Anjou as lawful heir of all the dominions
 ‘ of the late King of Spain, of which Philip
 ‘ was then actually in possession ;—he valued
 ‘ himself on the foolish generosity of dismissing
 ‘ the Dutch troops, and buoyed himself up up-
 ‘ on the vain hope, that peaceful treaties would
 ‘ produce the same effect. He suffered his ene-
 ‘ mies to amuse him, till they had time to com-
 ‘ bine and take arms. After which, they no
 ‘ longer hesitated between war and peace ; and
 ‘ the King found himself vigorously attacked on
 ‘ all hands.’

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France had still able Generals, who had been
 formed in the last war. The most renowned,
 whose laurels had been blasted by no remark-
 able defeat, were Berwick, Villars, Catinat, and
 Vendome. ‘ Catinat,’ said Madame de Mainte-
 non, ‘ knows his trade ; but is a stranger to God.
 ‘ The King is unwilling to intrust his business
 ‘ to people destitute of religion.’ ‘ What fig-
 ‘ nifies it to the King,’ answered Villars, ‘ whe-
 ‘ ther his servants be devotees or not? You
 ‘ may find the qualities of the greatest General
 ‘ in a man distinguished for avarice, perfidy,
 ‘ and impiety. I would rather the King had a
 ‘ good General with all these unhappy defects,
 ‘ than a man unskilled in war, but eminent for
 ‘ piety*.’ There appears something capricious

Generals.

Catinat.

F 4

and

* Villars uttered this on the occasion of Lewis’s refusing
 to employ the Marquis de Feuquieres. But that arbitrary
 and

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and contradictory in the religious principles of Lewis. They inspired him with such dislike for Catinat, that he was pleased to see him quit his service, even when he had need of his abilities; yet suffered him to employ Vendome, the irregularity of whose life was publicly scandalous. After thus preferring libertinism to infidelity, Lewis shewed himself on another occasion less inimical to impiety than to error. ‘There was a Lady of Fontpertuis, ‘a Janse-
 “nift,” said the King, ‘one of the fools who
 “ran after M. Arnauld.’ He would not permit
 ‘this Lady’s son, whom he believed to be in-
 ‘fected with the same sentiments, to remain in
 ‘the service of his nephew, the Duke of Or-
 ‘leans. ‘Faith,” replied the Duke, ‘I know
 “nothing

and imperious General would have found Feuquieres a very disagreeable man for his second in command. ‘He was,’ says St Simon, ‘a man of cool valour, with a superior understanding, a mind civilized by the liberal arts, of such skill in military affairs, as might have raised him to the highest eminence, could he only have checked the natural malevolence of his heart. He never served in the army, without seeking to direct his Generals, and to appropriate to himself the honour of their success. And as few Generals are disposed to submit to an inferior in command, he became their enemy, of consequence, and the service suffered. ‘His Memoirs,’ adds St Simon, ‘written in a dignified, perspicuous, and judicious manner, would be a masterpiece, did they not contain unfair representations of the conduct of all the Generals under whom he served. He accordingly died poor, friendless, and unrewarded.’

“ nothing about the mother. But to represent
 “ the son as a Jansenist, is doing him great in-
 “ justice: He does not even believe in God.”
 “ Say you so?” returned his Majesty, “ You may
 “ keep him then.” St Simon says, that this
 conversation was repeated to him by the Duke
 of Orleans, on the very day on which it passed.

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With respect to the Duke of Vendome; be-
 sides his military talents, he had another recom-
 mendation which people did not think of; his
 birth. Every man looks with an indulgent eye
 on his own weaknesses, when he discovers them
 in others. Lewis fancied that the lustre of a
 bastard of Henry IV. would be reflected on his
 own illegitimate children. It was this circum-
 stance, which, in addition to his merits, recom-
 mended Vendome so powerfully to his Sove-
 reign's favour. ‘ Vendome was of the middle
 ‘ stature, rather beyond proportion thick; but
 ‘ vigorous and active. His countenance was
 ‘ dignified, his air lofty, his conversation and
 ‘ carriage distinguished by a natural graceful-
 ‘ ness. He had a great deal of genius, but ne-
 ‘ glected to cultivate it; an easy elocution; in-
 ‘ vincible assurance; great knowledge of the
 ‘ world, and the Court; astonishing address to
 ‘ avail himself of every favourable occurrence,
 ‘ while apparently slothful and careless. This
 ‘ character he retained in the army; one would
 ‘ have said that he minded nothing. When he
 ‘ could live at his ease, and enjoy good cheer in
 ‘ his

Vendome

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his camp, he remained in it, heedless whether the situation were safe or dangerous. He sent out others to make those observations which should have been made with his own eyes, and paid very little regard to their reports. But when any unforeseen accident occurred, whenever he was surprised by the enemy, his presence of mind, and impetuous courage, made up for all; and it very seldom happened, that he was routed. He has been censured for excessive obstinacy; a failing common to indolent people, who would rather adhere to their first opinion, than be at the pains of discussing its merits. He was adored by his soldiers and inferior officers; because he made himself very familiar with them, and was very indulgent to their vices. He has been justly blamed for excessive slovenliness, on which he even valued himself.

Alberoni.

On this matter, he would give himself no trouble, however respectable his company. He made no scruple of putting on his clothes in their presence. A piece of unpoliteness of this sort, was the beginning of the fortune of the famous Alberoni. When Vendome was commander of the French forces in Italy, the Duke of Parma having some affairs to transact with him, sent the Bishop of the city to wait on him, as his agent. The Prelate was so disgusted, that the French General gave him audience on a seat ill adapted for ceremony, and

• and found his nose so disagreeably regaled with
 • the odours diffused around him, that he retired
 • without finishing his business, and resolved not
 • to return. Among this Bishop's clerks was
 • his gardener's son, *Alberoni* by name, whose
 • ambition had prompted him to exchange his
 • father's spade for a surplice. His gay, jovial
 • character, had introduced him to the Duke of
 • Parma. The Prince at a loss for a deputy to
 • succeed the Bishop, thought of the clerk, who,
 • he imagined, would not be disconcerted by
 • the ceremonial of the Duke of Vendome.

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• Alberoni, proud of the commission, which
 • he regarded as opening to him the highway to
 • fortune, exerted himself, in order to succeed,
 • by pleasing the General to whom he was sent.
 • The dulness of negotiation, he contrived to
 • enliven by buffooneries, which were the better
 • received for his intermixing with them the
 • praises of the Duke of Vendome, which the
 • Duke was greatly delighted to hear. The
 • same libertine manners, and the same loose
 • conversation, recommended Alberoni so effec-
 • tually to the French General, that he obtained
 • for the Duke of Parma, every thing which he
 • asked. The Duke having more than one
 • piece of business to transact with the French-
 • man, continued to employ an envoy who had
 • been so successful. The envoy did every
 • thing to render his journeys to the French
 • camp frequent, and to prolong his stay upon
 • each

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‘ each occasion, by rendering himself as agree-
 ‘ able as possible to the whole family, and espe-
 ‘ cially to the master. Observing that gluttony
 ‘ was his favourite vice, he prepared him some
 ‘ excellent ragouts: Vendome, upon this, asked
 ‘ him to eat with him: Hoping now to make
 ‘ his fortune easier in such a family, than at the
 ‘ Court of the Duke of Parma, where the low-
 ‘ ness of his birth must long be an obstacle in
 ‘ the way of his ambition, Alberoni contrived
 ‘ to have himself seduced from the service of his
 ‘ Italian master, by persuading the Duke of
 ‘ Vendome, that his attachment to his person,
 ‘ and admiration of his character, would make
 ‘ him prefer his service to that of any other.

‘ Having changed his master, he soon after,
 ‘ without ceasing to act the buffoon, or to
 ‘ dabble in cookery, intermeddled with the let-
 ‘ ters of the General, and became principal Se-
 ‘ cretary. At the preference given to him,
 ‘ some others were disgusted. One, in parti-
 ‘ cular, fought a quarrel with him, which from
 ‘ words he carried to blows, and pursued him
 ‘ with a stick, in presence of the whole army.
 ‘ But the Abbé was not a man to quit such fair
 ‘ prospects for such a trifle. He even found
 ‘ means to make a merit of this little misfortune
 ‘ with his master, representing it as a conse-
 ‘ quence of his attachment to him. All con-
 ‘ curred to render him dearer to Vendome, who
 ‘ introduced him into all his parties, on the
 ‘ footing

‘ footing rather of a friend than a domestic ; **PART III.**
 ‘ and when he was himself called into Spain, he **1703-6.**
 ‘ took Alberoni with him.’

Three great strokes contributed chiefly to ruin the strength and resources of the kingdoms of the House of Bourbon. The loss at Vigo, where a French fleet escorting the Spanish galleons, were obliged to burn their ships in the harbour, in 1702. The defeat of Hochstet, where twenty-seven battalions and four regiments of dragoons were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, without striking a blow, in 1704. And, *lastly*, The loss of the battle of Ramillies, where was lost, in 1706, all that an army can lose by a disorderly flight, and a keen pursuit. The Duke of Bavaria commanded on the two last of these occasions. His presence seems to have been unpropitious to the French arms. However, by an act of injustice, not uncommon with the nation, the whole blame of both defeats was ascribed to the French Generals. ‘ Villeroy, after
 ‘ the battle of Ramillies, never regained the respect or confidence of his army ; public clamour arose loud against him ; and Lewis was,
 ‘ of consequence, induced to recal him. It was
 ‘ not without regret, that the Monarch formed
 ‘ the resolution ; he had an affection for Marshal
 ‘ Villeroy, who was son to his Governor, and
 ‘ had been brought up with him.’ St Simon, ever disposed to exaggerate, meaning to represent Villeroy as a supple insinuating Courtier,
 calls

Marshal
Villeroy.

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calls him, ‘ *An Ofier of the Court*, magnificent
‘ and dignified in his manners and language, as
‘ becomes a great Lord ; very vain, and well
‘ qualified by his personal appearance, and skill
‘ in ceremonies, to preside at a tournament. He
‘ possessed,’ continues St Simon, ‘ those abilities
‘ for the Court and the world, which are acqui-
‘ red by long practice in intrigue, and schemes
‘ of ambition ; and was, at the same time, an
‘ accomplished master of the jargon used at
‘ Courts, which, with the familiarity of his So-
‘ vereign, and the honours which had been con-
‘ ferred on him, enabled him to impose on peo-
‘ ple who wanted penetration. He pretended
‘ not to great discernment, either in persons or
‘ things ; being formed rather to admire than to
‘ judge, and of consequence, very fit for a dupe.
‘ His conversation was tinged by this quality
‘ in his character : It was a series of questions,
‘ which required no answer, and which followed
‘ each other without connection. But he amused
‘ the King with the intrigues of the Court and
‘ the city, which nobody knew better ; and
‘ availed himself of the Monarch’s foibles, which
‘ he knew well how to humour.’

Accordingly, when Lewis found it necessary
to divest him of the command of the army, he
was at great pains to sooth his feeling of the
disgrace. ‘ On the first news of the defeat at
‘ Ramillies, he publicly expressed his compassion
‘ for the Marshal, excused, and defended him.
‘ He

‘ He then wrote to him with his own hand ; PART III.
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 “ I advice and entreat you as a friend, to ask
 “ your dismissal from the command of the
 “ army. I wish it to appear, that you are dis-
 “ missed only at your own earnest request. I
 “ shall receive you with more friendship than
 “ ever. You may be assured, that I shall think
 “ myself highly obliged by your making a sa-
 “ crifice, which I am as unwilling to ask as you
 “ can be to offer it, but which the present state
 “ of affairs renders necessary. What I now
 “ write, shall never be known to a third person ;
 “ and I repeat my promise, as to the mode in
 “ which every thing shall be conducted. All
 “ shall be persuaded, that you yourself have
 “ forced me to grant you permission to resign
 “ your command, and to appear at Court.’

‘ Villeroy discovered in this first letter, an
 ‘ amazing degree of kindness to a man in his
 ‘ situation ; and this kindness blinded him. He
 ‘ imagined that by firmness he might still retain
 ‘ his command, and that with such extraordinary
 ‘ friendship, expressed in so particular a man-
 ‘ ner, as kind and obliging as the King could
 ‘ have used to his brother, his Majesty never
 ‘ could resolve to dismiss him from his office
 ‘ against his will. He therefore replied, after a
 ‘ long preamble, in the language of a Courtier,
 “ That he was indeed unfortunate ; but not, he
 “ flattered himself, through misconduct ; and
 “ that, as he was neither sick nor wounded, he
 “ could

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“ could not ask leave to resign, without decla-
 “ ring himself by that step, incapable of com-
 “ mand, and thus at once dishonouring himself
 “ and his Sovereign’s choice.’

‘ This reply vexed, but did not irritate Lewis.
 ‘ He made a friendly allowance for the distress
 ‘ of that situation in which a man finds himself
 ‘ obliged to ask his dismissal from so important
 ‘ an employment, amid circumstances which
 ‘ aggravate the disgrace.’ And, indeed, had
 the prejudice against him not been so general,
 he would have suffered him to try his fortune
 once more. ‘ Villeroy was a brave man, under-
 ‘ stood the art of war, and no Captain of the
 ‘ age was more skilful in encampment. His
 ‘ enemies did him the justice to acknowledge
 ‘ this. But the resolution to recal him was al-
 ‘ ready taken *. Lewis wrote a second, a third,
 ‘ a fourth letter; and still the same answer †.
 ‘ In his answer to the last, the General, still flat-
 ‘ tering himself with the hopes by which he
 ‘ had been at first deceived, thought he might
 ‘ express himself in these words: ‘ It is in your
 “ power, Sire, to deprive me of the command of
 “ the army. I shall obey your Majesty, without
 “ presuming to complain. But expect not that
 “ I shall ever act a part in offering an affront
 “ to myself.’ His firmness produced no change

‘ 03

* D’Avrigny, t. 5. p. 97.

† St Simon, t. 4. p. 20.

' on the King's determination. Its only effect
 ' was to mortify his Majesty at having taken so
 ' much pains ineffectually on a man of such in-
 ' vincible obstinacy; and he complained of it
 ' bitterly to his confidants. However, when he
 ' appeared at Court, Lewis received him as a
 ' friend who had been unfortunate, and said to
 ' him, with an air of kindness, ' Fortune, Mon-
 ' fleur, seems not to be enamoured of old age.
 " Let us not make ourselves uneasy for her
 " freaks.' To this favour, he still added that
 ' of giving out, that the General had been re-
 ' called at his own earnest request. This was
 ' a last plank offered by the King's friendship,
 ' to save his shipwrecked reputation. He spurn-
 ' ed it, and retired discontented to his seat of
 ' Villeroy, from which, when he wished to re-
 ' turn to Court, he was not permitted.'

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Villeroy attributed what he considered as an
obstinate purpose to recal him, to the ill offices
 of Chamillart, who being sent to the spot after
 the battle, had, no doubt, given a report unfavourable
 to the General. Of this he himself complained loudly;
 and his Lady shared his discontent. ' The qualities of
 Madame de Villeroy's mind, made up for her bodily defects;
 ' though she was much deformed, excessively
 ' overgrown, and very short. She was eminent
 ' at once for politeness and discernment, qualities
 ' of such high estimation, yet so very rare;
 ' she was not incapable of the sprightliness of
 VOL. II. G wit,

Madame de
 Villeroy.

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1702-6.

‘ wit, but her wit was always tempered with
 ‘ dignity. Her society was select; and though
 ‘ she spent her life at Versailles, she held her
 ‘ Court there, independent of the King and Ma-
 ‘ dame de Maintenon, who both esteemed and
 ‘ feared her.

‘ She never saw her husband honoured with
 ‘ command, without dreading a reverse of for-
 ‘ tune; and her presages were often justified;
 ‘ dreadfully so at Ramillies. She had before
 ‘ that, dedicated herself to the duties of rigid
 ‘ devotion; and that event induced her to still
 ‘ greater strictness. She put herself into the
 ‘ hands of Father Polinier, Abbé de St Gene-
 ‘ vieve; a holy man, but ill qualified to direct
 ‘ the devotion of Ladies. This director of her
 ‘ devotions condemned her to die in silence.
 ‘ He forbade her ever to mention Chamillart,
 ‘ or any of those whom she believed to have
 ‘ contributed to her husband’s disgrace. She
 ‘ obeyed so implicitly, that if any person hap-
 ‘ pened to speak freely on this subject in her
 ‘ presence, she immediately gave a new turn to
 ‘ the conversation; if an attempt was made to
 ‘ return to it, she in polite, but firm language,
 ‘ expressed her dissatisfaction. She behaved
 ‘ nearly in the same manner with respect to all
 ‘ the other topics of gaiety or censure which
 ‘ usually animate conversation; so that her
 ‘ friends were at a loss how to converse in such
 ‘ a manner as not to disoblige her. Her sight
 ‘ became

‘ became so weak, that she could not work. PART III.
 ‘ Play, of which she had been very fond, she 1702-6.
 ‘ gave up, as well as other amusements, from
 ‘ delicacy of conscience. She was thus reduced
 ‘ to spend whole days in her chair, either saying
 ‘ her prayers, or listening to passages from reli-
 ‘ gious books read to her by her servants. A
 ‘ mode of living so very different from that to
 ‘ which she had hitherto been accustomed, so
 ‘ solitary, so silent, in which nothing was grant-
 ‘ ed to the claims of nature or habit, reduced
 ‘ her into a languishing state; and she died two
 ‘ or three years after the battle of Ramillies.’

The French had been so little accustomed to misfortunes under the reign of Lewis XIV. that they could not attribute those which they now experienced to ordinary causes, such as the weakness of their forces, or the errors of their Councils and Generals, but referred them to treachery. If we may believe St Simon *, accounts were regularly dispatched from Meudon, where the Dauphin kept his Court, of every thing concerted at Versailles, by the Ladies of Lillebonne, to their relation the Prince of Vaudemont, Governor of the Milanese, who was entirely devoted to the Archduke. St Simon, when he advances this assertion, does not let us know what motives then prejudiced the Ladies so strongly in favour of the allies, and against

1706-8.
The Dutch-
ess of Bur-
gundy accus-
ed of trea-
chery.

G 2

France,

* St Simon, t. 6. p. 83.

PART III.
1706-8.

France, to which they were indebted even for the means of subsistence. The connections between the House of Austria and the House of Lorraine, to which those Ladies belonged, were not so intimate as to render such a piece of treachery probable.

Reboulet says *, ‘ That the Dutchess of Burgundy, who had regarded the war in Piedmont with as much indifference as if she had been a native of France, when she saw our army advance to Turin, was alarmed lest her father should be stripped of all his possessions; and therefore became anxious to save him that mortification, by raising the siege. She at length prevailed with Madame de Maintenon to adopt her views. That Lady seeing the King advance in life, and believing that she might one day need the protection of the Dutchess of Burgundy, did all in her power to serve her.’ In consequence of this, restrictions were laid on the authority of the Duke of Orleans, who was sent to take the command in Italy, instead of the Duke of Vendome; and the chief power intrusted to Marshal de Marfin, who was sent with the Prince as his Tutor, and without whose concurrence, the Duke was not at liberty to undertake any enterprise. Hence too, the raising of the siege of Turin, after a bloody battle, in which Marfin was killed, and Orleans dangerously wounded.

Reboulet

* T. 8. p. 51.

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1706-8.

Reboulet urges as a certain proof of the treachery of the Dutchess of Burgundy, That the Duke of Savoy, when threatened even in his capital, took no measures for his defence; and that at last, when that Prince discovered some uneasiness at seeing the French so near him, and wrote to the Queen of England for immediate assistance, he was told by the Duke of Marlborough, in name of his Mistress, ‘not to be alarmed at the success of Vendome; for the French had more than once already vainly flattered themselves on their advantages, and things would turn out as unfavourably for them now as formerly. He spoke so positively,’ adds Reboulet, ‘of the miscarriage of the siege of Turin, though the forces by which it was undertaken, and the season seemed to render its capture certain, that it is impossible to read his letter, without suspecting that he had some other ground of confidence than mere conjecture.’

But, *if*, Could not a Prince of such insinuating talents, such dexterity and address in gaining those who could be of service to him, either by money or flattering attentions,—Could not such a Prince obtain the knowledge of what was resolved upon in the Cabinet of Versailles, otherwise than by his daughter? We have seen that the Ladies of Lorraine were suspected. Others, perhaps, who escaped suspicion, were not less deserving of it. The Princesses must

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have been in a very hard situation, if because they retained a due degree of natural affection for their relations, when any misunderstanding arose between the kingdoms; they were therefore to be blamed for a criminal partiality in favour of the country which they had left, against the interests of that with which they had connected themselves.

2. It has not been proved that the Duke of Savoy did not take every possible measure to resist the power of France. On the contrary, it appears from the earnest applications for speedy and powerful aid which he made both to the Emperor and the Queen of England, that he had no dependence upon any secret resource.

3. The command given to Marshal Marfin, to avoid a general battle, could not be given in consequence of any treacherous measures in favours of the Duke of Savoy; for it was given in the very beginning of the campaign, when it could not be known whether it would be most for the advantage of the French to expect the enemy in their lines before Turin, or to face them in the field. The prohibition to give battle, appears therefore to have been merely a precaution which Lewis thought necessary to restrain the dangerous ardour of his nephew. In the event, the prohibition became injurious; as it would have been more advantageous, in the circumstances of the French army, to attack the enemy, than to abide an attack. But things might

might have fallen out otherwise; and the prohibition must then have been applauded as prudent, without any suspicions of collusion arising.

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4. Lastly, The publication of the letter which has been alluded to, is so far from proving its authenticity, that it appears rather a proof of its being fictitious; for, if the Duke had really carried on any secret correspondence with his daughter, he would never, surely, have published any thing that could tend to make that correspondence known to the world, in consequence of which, he could have reaped from it no future advantages. It seems, therefore, to have been merely one of those tricks which Princes employ in seasons of distress, to animate and encourage their subjects, and which seldom fail in producing the intended effect.

Other proofs would be necessary to convict the Dutchess of having saved her father by treason. He had entered into alliance with its enemies, to ruin the kingdom of which she was to be Sovereign. By his means, the Court in which she lived, was become melancholy and gloomy. Through him, she was divided from the husband whom she loved; and trembled for the life of her Prince, at every motion of the army under his command. He was also contributing to expel his daughter, the Queen of Spain, from her capital, to wander about as a fugitive through her kingdom. It is true, those young Princesses never once murmured against

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so unnatural a parent; they maintained a respectful silence; but this, sure, was far from treason. A single complaint uttered by the Queen of Spain on a very trying occasion, is perhaps the strongest expression of the kind that dropped from her who suffered most of the two; yet that is marked with filial tenderness. 'When she was forced to retire from Madrid, 'the Nuncio went to pay his respects to her, 'and console her on so disagreeable an occasion. 'Her Majesty, who was at that time not above 'eighteen years of age, but endowed with manly courage, and with a firmness of mind superior to any reverse of fortune, listened obligingly to what he said, and looking on him 'with an eye expressive of deep anxiety, replied, "My greatest uneasiness is to know that my father, the Duke of Savoy, is the sole cause of "both his own misfortunes and ours *." He had then retired with his whole family from Turin.

1707-9.

Abbé Fleury.

After raising the siege of that city, the French were reduced to the necessity of confining themselves within their own frontiers. The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene pursued them. They purposed to take Toulon; but attacked it without success. But they laid the cities of Grasse, Glandèves, Frejus, with their territory, under contribution. Andrew Hercules de Fleury, who became

* Reboulet, t. 8. p. 77.

became afterwards a Cardinal and Prime Minister, was then Bishop of Frejus. St Simon, in what he says of him, seems to be prejudiced by his jealousy of so splendid a fortune; yet he allows the Prelate those amiable qualities which raised him to eminence. Fleury laid the foundation, and raised the superstructure of his own fortune, with a degree of ardour and sagacity worthy of imitation.

PART III.

1707-9.

‘ The Abbé de Fleury, son to a Receiver of
 ‘ the tithes in the diocese of Lodeve, was re-
 ‘ markable in his youth for the beauty of his
 ‘ countenance and the elegance of his shape,
 ‘ and retained through life that pleasing form
 ‘ which had distinguished him in his early years.
 ‘ After finishing his studies at Paris, in the pro-
 ‘ secution of which, he lived in a very humble
 ‘ style, he obtained access into the family of
 ‘ Cardinal de Bonzi, then all-powerful in Lan-
 ‘ guedoc. His Eminence conceiving a liking
 ‘ for him, took care of his fortune, and procured
 ‘ him a Canonry at Montpellier, where he was
 ‘ ordained Priest in 1674. Afterwards, that
 ‘ Prelate, who was Grand Almoner to the
 ‘ Queen, made a point of having his dependent
 ‘ employed as Almoner to that Princess, which
 ‘ was somewhat surprising. He was found to
 ‘ be discreet, mild, pliable; in short, extremely
 ‘ insinuating. On the Queen’s death, the same
 ‘ patronage raised him to be Almoner to the
 ‘ King; another surprising circumstance; but
 ‘ people

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people now ceased to wonder. Fleury, submissive and respectable, of an obliging temper, agreeable in his conversation, and still more agreeable in figure, modest and secret, was every day confirming and raising his fortune. He was first suffered, and by and by eagerly received into the best companies both of men and women, especially with the Ministers and people in office. He was on a good footing with M. de Seignelay, and was almost constantly with Messieurs de Croissy, de Pomponne, de Torcy, though not a man of great consequence with any of those gentlemen. Marshal Villeroy and his Lady had him often with them; and he was continually with the family of Noailles. He took care to connect himself with the most respectable of his brother Almoners, who introduced him to their families, with whom he passed his life very agreeably.

But Lewis XIV. did not esteem him; not that he had any essential fault to blame him for; but he thought that he had too little of the clergyman about him, and was too dissipated in his manners. Application was ineffectually made to the King for a Bishoprick to him. His Majesty refused both Father la Chaise and the Archbishop of Paris; and the greater the number of persons who applied for him, the more was his Majesty confirmed in the opinion, that he was too much a man of
the

the world, to confine himself to the duties of
 a Bishop. He at last explained himself in an
 explicit manner, and forbade them to mention
 him more. Thus Fleury remained four or
 five years in a sort of excommunicated state.
 To give up his place in spite, small as were
 his advantages by birth, would not have drawn
 any notice; to retain it without hopes of ad-
 vancement, was to submit patiently to a bitter
 affront. He thus found himself in a disagree-
 able dilemma, from which he could neither
 advance nor retreat, when the Bishoprick of
 Frejus fell vacant.

He expressed a wish to obtain it. The
 Archbishop of Paris, who saw him so much
 affected as to shed tears on the occasion, gene-
 rally compassionated his case, and notwith-
 standing the King's prohibition, ventured to
 make another effort in his favour. He met
 with such a reception as would have silenced
 any other person. But the Prelate was not to
 be denied; he represented to the King, that
 to refuse a man so obstinately, what he might
 in reason pretend to, without having any real
 objections to urge against him, was affronting
 and discouraging him very unjustly. He in-
 sisted so earnestly, that Lewis XIV. impatient-
 ly laid his hand on his shoulder, and grasping
 and shaking him, replied, ' Well! Monsieur;
 " you would have me make the Abbé de Fleury
 " Bishop of Frejus; and in answer to the reasons
 " which

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“ which I have again and again explained to
 “ you, against his promotion, you urge that this
 “ diocese is in an extremity of the kingdom,
 “ and in a retired country. To avoid further
 “ importunity, you shall be gratified. But re-
 “ member, I forewarn you, that you will find
 “ reason to repent of what you now do.’ The
 ‘ new made Bishop was disposed to reside as
 ‘ little as possible at Frejus. But he could not
 ‘ avoid going thither; however, he still retained
 ‘ his interest with those friends who were able
 ‘ to serve him, and came occasionally to Court,
 ‘ to revive their affection by his presence. He
 ‘ was at Frejus when the Duke of Savoy passed
 ‘ that way, and received that Prince with suit-
 ‘ able respect in his Episcopal Palace. But
 ‘ Lewis XIV. thought that he did wrong when
 ‘ he put on his Episcopal robes, and sang
 ‘ *Te Deum* himself in his Cathedral, for the suc-
 ‘ cess of his princely guest. He mentioned it
 ‘ to the Archbishop of Paris; and this was the
 ‘ first occasion on which the Prelate could know
 ‘ any thing of that repentance which the Mo-
 ‘ narch had foretold to him for his kindness to
 ‘ Fleury. It is true, that when the Duke urged
 ‘ the Bishop to take an oath of allegiance to
 ‘ him, he replied, ‘ Prince, Your Royal High-
 “ nefs must be convinced, that I will never fail
 “ of my duty to Lewis the Great, my lawful
 “ and only Sovereign. Besides, it would be of
 “ no consequence to acknowledge your Royal
 “ Highness

“ Highness as my Sovereign, merely for the
 “ short time which you are to spend in Pro-
 “ vance.’ The Duke was not displeased with
 ‘ this firmness, but continued ever after to main-
 ‘ tain an intimate and secret correspondence
 ‘ with the Prelate; yet it did not recover him
 ‘ the esteem of Lewis; and Fleury became very
 ‘ sensible, that it could not but raise new obstacles
 ‘ to disappoint his views of advancement. But
 ‘ he did not despair; and it appeared in the se-
 ‘ quel, that his hopes had not been ill found-
 ‘ ed *.’

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Madame de Montespan died in the year 1707.
 It was long since she had appeared at Court.
 The order to retire, was imprudently sent her
 by the Duke of Maine, whom she never after-
 wards forgave. ‘ The Count of Toulouse was
 ‘ always her favourite, and made a due return
 ‘ in filial tenderness. This Prince possessed not,
 ‘ like his brother, the sprightly enchanting wit
 ‘ of the family of Mortemart. But he was a man
 ‘ of honour, virtue, probity, with as obliging
 ‘ manners as were consistent with the natural
 ‘ coldness and frigidity of his temper. The office
 ‘ of High Admiral, conferred on him, turned his
 ‘ mind to the study of naval affairs, both military
 ‘ and commercial, with which he was thoroughly
 ‘ acquainted. He made several campaigns, and
 ‘ was present in several engagements; in all
 ‘ which,

The Count
 of Toulouse

* Reboulet.—St Simon.

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Death of
Madame de
Montespan.

‘ which, he discovered great valour and abilities. No good understanding subsisted between the two brothers. The King was more entertained with the Duke of Maine; but he esteemed the good sense, the candour, and the other solid qualities of the Count of Toulouse; who was, at the same time, happy in the affection of the Dutcheßes of Orleans and Bourbon, and in the tenderness of his mother.

‘ Madame de Montespan, on receiving the fatal order, left the Court, sobbing and bathed in tears, and retired to the community of St Joseph, which had been enlarged and enriched by her bounty. She could not make herself easy there, but went to divert her chagrin at Bourbon, Fontevault, and her estates, which she visited one after another. At length, it pleased God to touch her heart. Amid a criminal course of life, she had never forgotten her other duties. She often retired from the King to her closet to pray. She would not for the world violate a fast. Amid her irregularities, she held Christmas with austerity; and when her friends expressed their surprise, she replied, ‘ Should a person, because “ guilty of one bad action, neglect every duty?” She bestowed alms with great liberality; she discovered great esteem for pious persons, envying the purity of their manners. Nothing, in short, of irreligion or infidelity ever appeared in her conduct; but she was long impetuous,

‘ rious, haughty, sarcastic, and subject to all the
‘ failings which beauty and power generally
‘ produce in a weak mind *.’

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‘ Resolved at last to make a proper use of the
‘ time granted her against her inclination, she
‘ put herself into the hands of Father de la
‘ Tour, General of the Oratory, famous for the
‘ abilities which he displayed in the government
‘ and direction of his order. From that moment
‘ to her death, she never relapsed. He imposed
‘ on her at the first, a terrible act of penitence ;
‘ —he made her ask pardon of her husband,
‘ and submit to his discretion. She wrote to
‘ him in the most submissive terms, offering to
‘ return to live with him, if he chose, or to re-
‘ pair wherever he should command her. Who-
‘ ever knew Madame de Montespan, must re-
‘ gard that as an heroic sacrifice. She had the
‘ merit of offering it, without being put to ac-
‘ tual trial. He sent her word, That he would
‘ neither receive her, nor lay any injunctions
‘ upon her, nor even hear her name mentioned
‘ more, and died without altering these senti-
‘ ments, in all the agonies and resentment of
‘ flighted love. She put on mourning on the
‘ occasion, like any other widow ; yet never re-
‘ sumed his arms or liveries, which she had laid
‘ aside, but continued to retain her own.

‘ Another

* La Beaumelle, t. 4. p. 294. gives an account of the
latter part of her life, which what is here said will rectify.

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‘ Another sacrifice which cost her no less,
 ‘ and which Father de la Tour likewise prevail-
 ‘ ed with her to make, was the entire renun-
 ‘ ciation of that secret attachment to the Court,
 ‘ which she still cherished, and of those chime-
 ‘ rical hopes which she had conceived since she
 ‘ became a widow. Believing, that nothing but
 ‘ the fear of hell had induced the King to for-
 ‘ sake her, and attach himself to Madame de
 ‘ Maintenon, she pleased herself with imagining,
 ‘ that the age and ill health of her rival, which
 ‘ she imagined worse than they really were,
 ‘ would soon free her of *her*; and that as nothing
 ‘ would then oppose the revival of a flame which
 ‘ had been once so ardent, their common ten-
 ‘ derness for their children would rekindle the
 ‘ secret sparks, and she might succeed her ene-
 ‘ my, without the King’s mind being oppressed
 ‘ with any scruple. Her children flattered
 ‘ themselves with the same hopes; but they
 ‘ might have seen, that their hopes were ground-
 ‘ less; for Lewis never mentioned their mother,
 ‘ and during the last years of his life, never
 ‘ consulted her when he did any thing in their
 ‘ favour. She was very fond of them; and took
 ‘ great pleasure in seeing them, and making
 ‘ them presents.

‘ By degrees, however, penitence induced her
 ‘ to deny herself affluities which were so agree-
 ‘ able to her, and to turn her liberality from
 ‘ them to the poor. She herself, and her servants,
 ‘ made

‘ made up coarse clothes to be distributed among
 ‘ them. Her table, from splendid and delicate,
 ‘ became plain and frugal. Her fasts became
 ‘ more frequent. She seldom amused herself at
 ‘ play, saw little company, and often retired to
 ‘ secret prayer. Her acts of abstinence were
 ‘ accompanied with other acts of mortification.
 ‘ Her clothes and shifts were of coarse yellow
 ‘ linen, covered above with common linen, with
 ‘ hair-cloth under: Her tongue, once so much
 ‘ to be dreaded, was also subjected to its acts of
 ‘ penitence.

‘ Never was any one more tormented by the
 ‘ fear of death. It is said, that when she heard
 ‘ thunder, she took little children on her knees,
 ‘ in hopes that their innocence might protect
 ‘ her. She used to sleep with her curtains open,
 ‘ with a number of lights burning by her, and
 ‘ several servants watching. When she hap-
 ‘ pened to awake, she wished to find them talk-
 ‘ ing, eating, or amusing themselves at play, to
 ‘ prevent their becoming drowsy. With all
 ‘ this humiliation and anxiety, Madame de
 ‘ Montespan could never divest herself of the
 ‘ haughty dignity which she had assumed in the
 ‘ period of her power at Court; in her retreat,
 ‘ she still retained it; and those about her being
 ‘ accustomed to her manner, accommodated
 ‘ themselves to it without complaint. Her chair
 ‘ stood at the foot of her bed. None was al-
 ‘ lowed in her chamber to any other person,—

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‘ not even to the Princeesses, her daughters.
 ‘ When Montieur, the eldest Mademoiselle, Ma-
 ‘ dame, and the Princess of Condé, went to see
 ‘ her, chairs were ordered for them; but she
 ‘ did not rise to receive them, or wait on them
 ‘ out when they took their leave. It was, ne-
 ‘ vertheless, the fashion to go to see her. She
 ‘ spoke to every one like a Queen at the head
 ‘ of her Court, and was addressed with the
 ‘ greatest respect.

‘ She entertained, as ladies of her bed-cham-
 ‘ ber, a number of poor women, some married,
 ‘ some unmarried. Her favourite foible was
 ‘ match-making; and as, in her latter days, she
 ‘ could no longer make the liberal presents
 ‘ which she had once been accustomed to be-
 ‘ stow, it was often neither more nor less than
 ‘ bringing hunger and thirst together; for she
 ‘ could not make up the want of fortune by her
 ‘ patronage. Since her retreat from Court, she
 ‘ never asked any thing for either herself or
 ‘ others. Ministers, Judges, and Intendants, no
 ‘ longer heard her name mentioned.

‘ An air of magnificence was still observable
 ‘ in her carriages, of which she kept a great
 ‘ number, but in a very sorry condition. Al-
 ‘ though fair as the day to the last moment of
 ‘ her life, she thought herself sick, without be-
 ‘ ing really so; but called neither surgeons nor
 ‘ physicians. One would have imagined, that
 ‘ she hoped to give death the slip by frequent
 ‘ change

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‘ change of place, as she was constantly jour-
‘ neying about. When she set out for the last
‘ time for Bourbon, whither she went as usual
‘ without any particular occasion, she paid in
‘ advance, all her charitable annuities, which
‘ were very numerous, and chiefly to poor no-
‘ bility. She doubled her ordinary alms; al-
‘ though, even by her own confession, she was
‘ in perfect health. She said that she would
‘ never return, and that her poor dependents
‘ would thus have time to look out elsewhere
‘ for the means of subsistence. She did well
‘ in preparing by these charitable precautions,
‘ for her illness was short, and her good works
‘ would surely render the approach of death,
‘ which she had regarded with such terror, less
‘ awful.

‘ Madame de Montespan, in the end of her
‘ life, discovered the natural affection of a mo-
‘ ther to her lawful son, the Duke d’Antin,
‘ whom she had till then treated rather with
‘ the malevolence of a stepmother. She en-
‘ deavoured to enrich him*. While she lived,
‘ the King shewed too much indifference to

The Duke
d’Antin.

H 2

‘ that

* La Beaumelle relates, t. 4. p. 296. that when he understood how near his mother was to her latter end, he rode post after her, seized her strong box, and snatching the key from the bosom of his dying mother, went off without expressing the smallest concern. La Beaumelle mentions not his authors; and, if true, the fact would not have been omitted by St Simon, who was not fond of the Duke d’Antin.

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‘ that brother of his children. After his mother’s death, he conferred several favours upon him, appointed him Director-general of his buildings, and allowed him access to his person. D’Antin was a man of fine taste, great good sense, and agreeable manners. He discharged the duties of his place like a man of quality, superior to avarice, and desirous only to do honour to himself and his master. As a Courtier, he had the address to maintain himself on a good footing at Versailles, without being looked on with an unfavourable eye at Meudon ; a thing not easy at that time *.’

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Intrigues
of the
Dauphin.

Many intrigues were carried on in the Court. St Simon attempts to give an account of them. But he is far inferior to Cardinal de Retz, who knew how to prepare a wide field which the eye might take in at once, to place his groups in an advantageous disposition, to analyze them on proper occasions, to distinguish every different person by some characteristic feature, to detect the most secret motives, unveil the darkest characters, and exhibit all the figures in the piece, at once distinct, and in motion. The Duke is diffuse and perplexed, and brings forward his actors only as his memory happens to recollect them ; all, in short, that can be inferred from his long-winded narrative, is, that several persons, some of whom
he

* St Simon, t. 3. p. 117. t. 4. p. 82. t. 6. p. 330.

he names, were officious to promote a misunderstanding among the Royal Family.

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The Dauphin longs to mount the throne.

Although the Dauphin discovered always a strong attachment to his father, it is noway surprising, if at the age of eight and forty, he sometimes thought that he ought to reign in his turn, and that the period was somewhat late in arriving. 'The Dutcheſs of Burgundy, going one day to wait upon him, found him with Mademoiſelle Choin, his ſiſter, the Dutcheſs, and the two Lillebonnes, ſeated round a table, on which was a large volume of coronation-prints, which the company were examining with great attention. The Dauphin himſelf ſeemed to be much taken up with it, and liſtened with apparent pleaſure to the diſcourſe of the Ladies. 'There,' ſaid one, 'is he who puts on your ſpurs;' 'and there he,' added another, 'who puts on your Royal Robe, and the Peers ſupporting the Crown on your head,' and thus they went on through the reſt of the ceremony in a manner ſo agreeable to the Dauphin, that the arrival of his daughter-in-law did not interrupt their remarks*.'

They might, however, have dreaded the ridicule of a Princeſs who had reaſon to be diſſatisfied with the affronts to which ſhe and her husband found themſelves expoſed in the Court

H 3

of

* St Simon, t. 3. p. 73.

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of her father-in-law. A combination was formed in that Court, which was known by the name of the *cabal of Meudon*; it consisted of people who pleased themselves with the hope that the King, though at present in good health, must soon leave his Crown to his Son, the Dauphin. They took previous measures to engross to themselves the confidence of that Prince, who discovered great readiness to be led by others. If any person had a right to his confidence, it was surely the Duke of Burgundy; but his piety, his assiduity in cultivating his mind, his abilities, his good sense, qualities all naturally flattering to a parent, were represented as demerits in the son, by the ill offices of the cabal, who saw reason to fear, that under a King who knew his worth, they might raise him to a part in the administration. The reputation which his virtues acquired him, was another subject of jealousy.

They used arts to render the Dauphin jealous of the marks of friendship with which Lewis XIV. began to distinguish his grandson. The young Prince made his way amid all the disgusts which these prepossessions occasioned to him. He maintained such an obliging and respectful tenor of conduct, as would have regained him the affections of any parent not blinded and impressed with unjust prejudices. It is true, he waited on the Dauphin rather as a Courtier than a son; nothing particular,

no

‘ no private conversations ever passed between **PART III.**
 ‘ them. After paying his respects, he sought **1707-10.**
 ‘ not to prolong his visit, but was happier any
 ‘ where else than with his father. His caution
 ‘ spared him the cool, and even harsh reception
 ‘ which the Dutchess of Burgundy from time
 ‘ to time met with, whenever she attempted to
 ‘ make herself free and familiar. But she did not
 ‘ give up her point, and only employed new
 ‘ arts to render herself acceptable. She some-
 ‘ times succeeded; but then the people about
 ‘ the father, considered the dispersion of the
 ‘ clouds which were gathering, as too unfavourable
 ‘ to their designs, and took pains to
 ‘ hinder the daughter-in-law from maintaining
 ‘ that degree of credit with her father-in-law,
 ‘ which she recovered by her perseverance. Her
 ‘ patience at length failed her; and having
 ‘ received from my Lord Dauphin a refusal of
 ‘ something which he had once promised, that
 ‘ could be occasioned only by the malicious in-
 ‘ sinuations of her enemies, she sent to inform
 ‘ the Lillebonnes, that she would, in future,
 ‘ blame them for any mortifications which she
 ‘ might suffer; and they became after that,
 ‘ more cautious in their opposition to her *.’

1708-10.
Freedom of
Gamaches.

The prejudices of the Dauphin, and the pleasure which he took in mortifying his son, were remarkably displayed on the occasion of the

H 4

campaign

* St Simon, t. 3. p. 79.

PART III. campaign in Flanders, in 1708. The Duke of
 1708-10. Burgundy commanded in that campaign, and
 had under him the Duke of Vendome, one of
 the chief supports of the cabal of Meudon, or
 rather Vendome was commander, though appa-
 rently subordinate. The Prince was exposed to
 mortifications of every sort. He was blamed
 for devoting to amusements in mechanics, a part
 of that time which it was pretended should have
 been entirely dedicated to business. The public
 manner in which he was reproached at other
 times, could not but make a very sensible im-
 pression on a Prince of the age of six and twenty.
 ' The Count de Gamaches, who allowed himself
 ' to say *any thing*, returning with him one day
 ' from mass, at a time when he would rather
 ' have been on horseback, said aloud, ' My Lord
 " Duke, you may obtain the kingdom of Hea-
 " ven; but Eugene and Marlborough are bet-
 " ter qualified to gain the kingdoms of the
 " earth."

Another sally of Gamaches was uttered on
 the following occasion. ' The King of Eng-
 ' land being *incognito* in the army *, lived with
 ' the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry as if he
 ' had been only a private individual. They
 ' abused the respect which he paid them, and
 ' shewed him none of that attention which was
 ' due to his rank, notwithstanding his disguise.
 ' They

* The Pretender, son to James II.

‘ They left him among the crowd in the anti-
‘ chamber, and scarce ever took the least notice
‘ of him. This behaviour was the more blame-
‘ able, because it was long continued ; and the
‘ Chevalier de St George had acquired the
‘ esteem and love of every body. Gamaches,
‘ at last, regarding their conduct with impatient
‘ indignation, said to them publicly : ‘ Speak
“ frankly. Is this a wager ? If it be so, you
“ have gained it ; that nobody will deny ; but
“ after this, speak now and then to the Cheva-
“ lier de St George, and treat him in a more
“ becoming manner.”

But this is little in comparison with what
happened at Oudenarde. ‘ When the battle
‘ was over, the Generals assembled in the Duke
‘ of Vendome’s tent, to deliberate on what was
‘ to be done. The Duke of Burgundy was be-
‘ side him, and was about to offer his opinion
‘ first, when the Duke of Vendome, peevish
‘ from his misfortune, and perhaps from being
‘ unable to conceal that he had brought it on
‘ himself, stopped him abruptly with these
‘ words : ‘ Remember, that you came to the
“ army under the condition of yielding obe-
“ dience to me.’ All were astonished at such
‘ insolence. The Prince perceiving that there
‘ was then no medium between absolute silence
‘ and an entire rupture, was so much master of
‘ himself, as to hold his peace. Vendome began
‘ to descant upon the battle ; asserting, That it
‘ was

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‘ was not lost ; and, that as only half the army
 ‘ had been engaged, they had only to renew
 ‘ the action on the morrow ; and, in order to
 ‘ that, to remain in the posts where they then
 ‘ were, and surprise the enemy by day-break.
 ‘ Every one listened in silence to a man who
 ‘ would not be contradicted, and had shewn
 ‘ that in so surprising a manner to the heir ap-
 ‘ parent of the Crown.

‘ They looked on one another, and might
 ‘ have remained long enough in that situation,
 ‘ had not the Count d’Evreux, a young man
 ‘ under the patronage of the Duke of Vendome,
 ‘ risen to give his assent to what the Duke had
 ‘ proposed. The other Officers were surprised
 ‘ that he presumed to speak first, because he was
 ‘ only Camp-Marshal. During the conference,
 ‘ Officers came in from all quarters, with ac-
 ‘ counts that the confusion was extreme. They
 ‘ insisted on some immediate determination, and
 ‘ gave their voices for retreat. Vendome, thus
 ‘ urged to an extremity, with rage in his heart,
 ‘ and fury on his countenance, exclaimed,
 ‘ “ You will have it so then, Gentlemen ; we
 ‘ “ must retreat ! Well, well,” added he, casting
 ‘ a look of rage and contempt on the Duke of
 ‘ Burgundy, ‘ it is long since some of you have
 ‘ “ wished to retreat.” Without loss of time, he
 ‘ put spurs to his horse, made the best of his
 ‘ way to the town of Gand, supped, and went

‘ to

‘ to bed, leaving who would to conduct the re-
‘ treat.’

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Boufflers
in Lille.

The enemies, after this battle, their success in which they found no reason to doubt, laid siege to Lille. ‘ Marshal Boufflers had thrown himself into that city to defend it. Prince Eugene did not dissemble the pleasure which he felt when that came to his ears, being less afraid of a man already loaded with honours and rewards, than he would have been of an officer whose hopes of rising depended on the gallantry of his defence. He found himself mistaken *.’ I need not be afraid of being tedious in an account of Boufflers’s conduct during the siege; a finer model cannot be proposed to an officer in a similar situation. ‘ He was eminent for order, exactness, vigilance. His valour was modest, natural, frank, and cool. He observed every thing with his own eyes, and gave all his orders without hurry, and with the same ease as if he had been in his chamber. Nothing could warm him to intemperate rashness, even in the season of action, in danger, or under mortifying disasters; his foresight comprehended every thing, and he used to forget nothing when he came to execution. His equity, his benevolence, his politeness, his integrity, gained him universal esteem. He was very communica-
‘ tive,

* St Simon, t. 4. p. 132.

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tive, carefully consulted his officers on every occasion, heard them patiently discuss their opinions at full length, scrupulously ascribed the merit of good counsels to those who gave them, and of brave actions to those who performed them.

The pains which he took on his arrival at Lisle, in the equal distribution of labour and of provisions, which he superintended himself, and in regulating the affairs of the hospitals, made him adored by the soldiers and citizens. He inrolled the citizens, disciplined them, and rendered them not at all inferior to the veteran troops. He took all possible fatigue on himself, that he might spare others. He slept without putting off his clothes; and through the whole siege, which lasted four months, he was not three times in bed. He has been blamed for exposing himself too much. It was to set an example. The receiving of some slight wounds produced no change on his ordinary conduct, and he strove to conceal them. But being knocked down by a blow on the head, he was conveyed against his will to his house. It was proposed to bleed him; but to this he refused to submit, fearing that it might exhaust his strength. He would even have persisted in his ordinary labours, had he not, on attempting to go out, found the house surrounded with soldiers, who cried aloud, that if they saw him make his appearance within four
and

‘ and twenty hours, they would desert their posts. PART III.
 ‘ He was thus compelled to retire to rest; and 1708-10.
 ‘ never was there more joy than when he came
 ‘ abroad again.

‘ His table was always plentifully served; for
 ‘ he constantly entertained great numbers. His
 ‘ provisions were of the same quality as those of
 ‘ the rest of the garrison. When any delicacies
 ‘ were presented at his table, he sent them to
 ‘ the sick. Besides the money which he had
 ‘ brought with him, he borrowed a great deal,
 ‘ and distributed among the officers and soldiers,
 ‘ without ostentation, with amazing simplicity
 ‘ of manner. ‘ Thus,’ adds St Simon, who al-
 ‘ ways qualifies his praises with some satirical
 ‘ hints, ‘ Thus do benevolence and integrity en-
 “ large and enlighten the understanding on
 “ great occasions.” He would have stood out
 till he had been buried under the ruins of Lisle,
 had not Lewis XIV. to save the garrison, sent
 him orders to surrender. When he marched
 out, Prince Eugene told him, ‘ I am proud of
 ‘ having taken Lisle; but I should have been
 ‘ still prouder of having defended it like
 ‘ you.’

Many reflections have been made on the mis-
 fortunes of the campaign at Lisle. It has been
 said, and there are still some advocates for the
 opinion, that Lewis XIV. had promised Ma-
 dame de Maintenon to make their marriage pu-
 blic, if his army were successful in that cam-
 paign;

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paign ; and the Duke of Burgundy, to prevent that from taking place, used means to make the plans of the Duke of Vendome miscarry. But this marriage had now subsisted three and twenty years. And, if Madame de Maintenon had even felt, at the first, the strong desire ascribed to her, of being declared Queen, it is not probable that she would retain it so long. Again, is it likely that Lewis would have chosen to notify what must have given much offence, at the very period when his misfortunes were at their greatest height? Besides, there is a palpable contradiction in making the Duke of Vendome, one of the heads of the cabal of Meudon, and an enemy to Madame de Maintenon, labour to raise her to a state of triumph, and the Duke of Burgundy, who was strongly attached to her, thwart the design. After examining all that has been said on both sides, I remain convinced, that nothing was intentional, nothing done expressly on purpose to bring misfortune on France. The great cause, was the misunderstanding between the Generals ; and that misunderstanding arose from the contrariety of their characters.

The reflections of Marshal Berwick on this subject, which he presented to the Duke of Vendome, and which are printed in his Memoirs, are extremely judicious *. Nothing can
 be

* Berwick, t. 2. p. 14. 57.

be more rational than the letters written on the occasion by the Duke of Burgundy, in consequence of the observations communicated to him by Marshal Matignon, and several other experienced Captains whom he consulted on the occasion. It appears that Vendome was very wrong in not following the advice of those officers. But any person who will be at the pains of studying the actions of that General, will discover that his genius was not formed to submit to rules. Perhaps, had he been left entirely at liberty, that sort of instinct by which he was directed, would have rendered him more successful than all the prudence with which they sought to impress him. Lewis XIV. expressed no dissatisfaction; but never employed him after that in his own service. At Meudon, he was caressed and entertained in a *shameful* manner, says Madame de Maintenon, who appears to have been very much dissatisfied with the marks of friendship and confidence publicly shown by the Dauphin to a man who had treated his son with such arrogance. Philip V. brother to the Prince who was insulted, does not seem to have been more disobliged than his father at the disrespectful conduct of Vendome; or else, his abilities as a General, made him overlook his indiscretion,—for he asked Lewis XIV. to send him to take the command of his armies.

The Duke of Orleans, after the check which he suffered before Turin, asked the command in Spain,

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The Duke
of Orleans
in Spain.

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Spain, where he would be at a distance from Versailles, and under a young Monarch, his cousin, who would not lay upon him the restraints to which he had hitherto been subjected. Madame de Maintenon, to whom he applied, prevailed with the King to give his consent. Before he set out, his uncle recommended to him, to live on good terms with the Princess d'Urfini, and especially not to interfere in any thing not relative to the war. The first campaign passed very well over. All the letters from Spain were filled with his praises. Nothing was heard of, but his application to business, his affability, his courage, his steadiness, his gentleness, his fertility in expedients. Madame d'Urfini delighted to dwell on his praises, and laboured assiduously, as she said, to promote his interest. Yet, he found himself in extremities, without money, ammunition, provisions, which occasioned him to fail in expeditions that might have had a glorious issue. He complained of this in a friendly manner to Madame d'Urfini who ruled every thing, and she promised, that provision should be made during winter.

Satisfied with these assurances, the Duke of Orleans came to France, to give the King an account of the state of affairs*. On returning into Spain, he found nothing ready.

After

* St Simon, t. 4. p. 20.

' After a day spent wholly in seeking out expe-
 ' dients, he sat down at table one evening
 ' with some young French and Spanish Noble-
 ' men. The entertainment was prolonged till
 ' the Duke, being warmed with wine, and ha-
 ' ving his mind always occupied with his ob-
 ' ject, took up a glass, and proposed to the com-
 ' pany to drink to the health of Madame d'Ur-
 ' fini and Madame de Maintenon, with the
 ' addition of an epithet so severe and so well
 ' applied, that all the company broke out into a
 ' loud burst of laughter, and drank off their
 ' glasses to his toast. This was soon conveyed
 ' to the ears of Madame d'Urfini, and by her
 ' to Madame de Maintenon. From that instant,
 ' secret obstacles, brought forward seemingly by
 ' accident, affected denials, and strained polite-
 ' ness, shewed the Prince that he was no longer
 ' regarded with the same favourable sentiments
 ' as before. His actions began to be viewed
 ' with an eye of suspicion, and even the slight-
 ' est of them to be maliciously explained.

' In France, it was reported that he was in
 ' love with the Queen, which was not even su-
 ' spected in Spain. Another crime was laid to
 ' his charge there. At Madrid, and in the
 ' army, he saw noblemen whose loyalty was
 ' thought doubtful. Till now, he had been in
 ' no instance found blameable; but, on this oc-
 ' casion, he was obliged to hear the joint re-
 ' monstrances of the King, the Queen, and Ma-

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‘ dame d’Urfini. He replied, ‘ That in so doing, he thought he did the King a service ; those Noblemen, upon the disgusts which they had received, might have thrown themselves into the arms of the Archduke ; but he had at least maintained them in suspense between Barcelona and Madrid ; yet, if so ordered, he would give up his connection with them.’ But, after hearing his reasons, they begged him to continue his correspondence with the disaffected Lords. Under this pretext, therefore, the intimacy was kept up ; yet, it would be going too far, to assert, that he was not enticed into it by the pleasure he found in associating with persons who entertained the same sentiments as himself, respecting Madame d’Urfini, and her administration ; and perhaps, too, by the satisfaction he felt in hearing his own praise, and observing them insinuate how happy they would be to obey so amiable a Prince.’ The Great often mistake the homage paid to their rank, as the homage of the heart.

‘ Another ground of complaint was, that the Duke of Orleans having in Spain accidentally met with an Englishman, of the name of Stanhope, whom he had known in Paris, and with whom he had often been engaged in jovial parties, renewed their former intimacy. He was now the second in command in the Archduke’s army, of which Count Stahrenberg was General, and which opposed King Philip’s army under the Duke. They could
‘ not

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‘ not be so near each other, without recollecting
‘ the gay days which they had spent together,
‘ and eagerly seized the opportunity to mention
‘ them, whenever they had occasion to write to
‘ each other for exchange of prisoners, or pas-
‘ ports, and often sent trumpets between the
‘ armies on purpose. This correspondence gave
‘ occasion to censures ; yet no person threw out
‘ any hints against it to the Prince. Far from
‘ indicating any dissatisfaction, when he was
‘ about to return into France at the end of the
‘ campaign, the King, the Queen, and Madame
‘ d’Urfini, expressed great anxiety for his re-
‘ turn. He set out well satisfied, leaving a per-
‘ son of the name of Deslandes-Regnault, to take
‘ charge of his household, to urge the prepara-
‘ tions which had been agreed on, and to send
‘ him an account of what passed.

‘ Towards the end of winter 1708, Lewis XIV.
‘ asked the Duke of Orleans, ‘ Who is that
‘ Regnault ; and why took you him to Spain ?’
‘ He answered his Majesty’s question ; and the
‘ King then added, ‘ He connects himself with
‘ the enemies of Madame d’Urfini. She is dis-
‘ satisfied ; you must recal him.’ The Duke
‘ gave orders for that, without thinking more of
‘ it. A few days after, Lewis asked his nephew
‘ carelessly, ‘ If he wished much to return to
‘ Spain ?’ He replied in general, ‘ That he
‘ wished to be in the service ;’ but seemed very
‘ indifferent as to the place where, and did not

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‘ think whether any thing of importance could
‘ be concealed under that question. However,
‘ he mentioned it to me,’ adds St Simon. ‘ I
‘ represented that this was, of all the employ-
‘ ments in the service, the most suitable for him,
‘ for the very reason which had made him ask
‘ it at first ;—because he was in no danger of
‘ being thwarted by disagreeable and contra-
‘ dictory orders by a Courier from the Council.
‘ He acknowledged that he was wrong in seeming
‘ so indifferent, and promised to insist on being
‘ sent back to Spain, on the very first occasion
‘ that should offer.

‘ An opportunity offered in a few days, but
‘ of another sort than he had looked for. The
‘ King asked him, ‘ How do you think you
“ stand with Madame d’Urfini ?’ ‘ I have rea-
“ son,” replied he, ‘ to believe myself very well
“ with her ; for I have done nothing to make
“ me ill with her.’ ‘ However,’ returned the
‘ King, ‘ she is afraid of your return.’ The
‘ Prince, in great surprise, endeavoured to con-
‘ vince his Majesty, that nothing could be im-
‘ puted to him, but what was fabricated by the
‘ malice of that Lady ; and that, if he had any
‘ thing to reproach himself with, it was the
‘ not having remonstrated against the prejudice
‘ which public affairs suffered from her avarice
‘ and ambition ; but that on these matters he
‘ had been silent, because his Majesty had given
‘ it him in command, not to intermeddle with
‘ any

‘ any thing that did not immediately belong to
 ‘ the war-department. He then descended into
 ‘ an account of the particulars of the Princess’s
 ‘ misconduct. Lewis heard him; and after a
 ‘ moment’s reflection, replied, ‘ As things are
 “ so, I think I had better not send you back to
 “ Spain. It is uncertain whose the kingdom
 “ may be. If it remain in the possession of my
 “ grandson, there will be time enough then to
 “ settle the administration, and I shall then be
 “ happy to have your opinion. Send some per-
 “ son for your equipage and baggage. You
 “ may direct them,’ added he, in a low voice,
 “ to protest in your name, so that happen what
 “ will, your rights may be preserved.’ It soon
 ‘ after became public, that the Duke of Orleans
 ‘ was not to return to Spain; because he would
 ‘ have nothing to do but to bring back the
 ‘ French troops, which was beneath his dig-
 ‘ nity.

‘ The Prince employed to execute his orders,
 ‘ a person of the name of *Flotte*, who had been
 ‘ represented to him as a man of sense, qualified
 ‘ to acquit himself with address of a delicate
 ‘ commission. Flotte wrote to Regnault to
 ‘ meet him at a place which he appointed.
 ‘ Regnault did not appear. Flotte went on,
 ‘ hoping to meet him. He sought him at Ma-
 ‘ drid, at Court, in the army, but could neither
 ‘ see nor hear of him. He then proposed to re-
 ‘ turn, and set out, but was arrested by order of

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‘ the King of Spain. Marshal Bezons, who
‘ commanded the army, sent advice of what
‘ had happened, by a secret messenger to the
‘ Duke of Orleans, who learned the news six
‘ days sooner than the King his uncle, but made
‘ no mention of it. At last the news arrived.
‘ Lewis XIV. spoke of it to his nephew; he
‘ feigned surprise, and represented, that such an
‘ act of violence to the servants of a person so
‘ nearly related to his Majesty, was an affront
‘ to his Majesty himself, and that he expected
‘ his Sovereign would see justice done him.
‘ The King only said, that he would write about
‘ it.

‘ While the letters were on the way, a report
‘ was spread, that the Duke of Orleans had at-
‘ tempted to form a party in Spain, with the view
‘ of driving Philip V. from the throne, on pretext
‘ of his incapacity, and his abject submission to
‘ the Princess d’Urfini; that Stanhope had en-
‘ gaged to convince England and Holland, that
‘ it was a matter of indifference to them, whe-
‘ ther a French or a German Prince were on
‘ the throne of Spain, provided he owed his
‘ throne to them; and that the English were to
‘ smooth all difficulties with the allies; so that
‘ when the King of France should withdraw his
‘ forces, no difficulty might remain in the way
‘ of the Duke of Orleans; and Philip V. when
‘ deprived of their assistance, might fall of him-
‘ self. This was the most current report. But
‘ other

‘ other accounts carried the matter farther. PART III.
 ‘ According to these last, the Emperor required 1708-10.
 ‘ of the Duke of Orleans, that he should have
 ‘ his marriage dissolved, as unequal, and having
 ‘ been entered into by compulsion. He was
 ‘ then to espouse the Dowager of Spain, widow
 ‘ of Charles II. and sister to the Empress; and
 ‘ as she was not likely to have children, he was
 ‘ to marry, after her, Mademoiselle d’Argenton,
 ‘ his mistress. *Lastly*, To expedite matters, he
 ‘ was to have the Dutchess of Orleans poisoned;
 ‘ and he might thank his alembics, laboratories,
 ‘ and chemical amusements, that this project
 ‘ actually gained credit in the world.

‘ However, no answers arrived from Spain.
 ‘ The most impartial part of the Court began to
 ‘ hesitate. The King, and still more the Dau-
 ‘ phin, behaved to the Duke with a degree of
 ‘ coldness which made him very uneasy. After
 ‘ their example, most of the Courtiers openly
 ‘ avoided him. I was, at that time,’ says St Si-
 ‘ mon, ‘ in some degree of disgrace, and appeared
 ‘ not at Marly, where these scenes were acted.
 ‘ My friends made themselves uneasy, in regard
 ‘ to my assiduities about the Duke of Orleans,
 ‘ and advised me to keep at a distance. I knew
 ‘ by experience, how much the hatred of the
 ‘ Court was to be dreaded, and that as I was
 ‘ then situate, to continue to see the Duke of
 ‘ Orleans, was to afford a great advantage to my
 ‘ enemies. Yet, after taking every circum-

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‘ stance into consideration, I reflected, that honour and courage and spirit to brave danger on occasion, were necessary at Court, as well as in the army; and notwithstanding all that was suggested to move my fears, I ought by no means, I thought, to relax my intercourse in the smallest degree with the Duke of Orleans; especially as he was deserted by almost every one else.

‘ I understood that letters had been received, but nothing mentioned in consequence of that to the Prince. That secrecy made me uneasy. I took the Prince aside, and begged him to open his mind to me, that I might give him both advice and consolation in so disagreeable an affair, perhaps the most disagreeable and the most dangerous of his whole life. He avowed, that a good many persons of consequence, Grandees of Spain and others, had endeavoured to persuade him, that it would be impossible for Philip V. to maintain himself on his throne; and had even urged him to contribute to his fall, which was at any rate inevitable, and to assume his place; that he had rejected the proposal with all the indignation which it deserved; but had, indeed, consented to suffer himself to be raised to the throne, if his cousin should fall of himself, without any prospect of re-establishing himself; for, in that case, seizing his throne would be doing him no wrong, but, on the contrary,

‘ would

‘ would be an essential service to France, which
 ‘ would thus still have the satisfaction of seeing
 ‘ that Crown by a descendant of the House of
 ‘ Bourbon.

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‘ Whether the Duke of Orleans actually con-
 ‘ fined himself within these limits, or overstep-
 ‘ ped them, is a secret which I did not insist
 ‘ upon knowing. I contented myself with shew-
 ‘ ing him the serious nature of the affair, and
 ‘ advised him to wait on the King, and confess
 ‘ the whole, with this excuse, that the reason of
 ‘ his not communicating the affair, was to avoid
 ‘ perplexing his Majesty’s conscience with it,
 ‘ if, on the conclusion of a peace, the allies
 ‘ should require of him a renunciation of the
 ‘ Crown of Spain in the name of the whole fa-
 ‘ mily; that, besides, he had thought himself
 ‘ authorised to do so much by the advice which
 ‘ his Majesty himself had given him, to provide
 ‘ for the preservation of his own rights. The
 ‘ King was satisfied with this explanation,
 ‘ which seems not to have been contradicted by
 ‘ the enquiries made in Spain, although that
 ‘ Court had the Duke at great ill will.’ He
 wrote with his own hand to his grandson, throw-
 ing all the blame on the inferior agents, as com-
 monly happens in such cases. ‘ All the evil of
 ‘ that affair is to be attributed to the levity and
 ‘ imprudence of two men, who acted in my ne-
 ‘ phew’s name, and went beyond their orders,
 ‘ which were only, that they should protest
 ‘ against

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‘ against those changes, which, in the present
 ‘ state of affairs, there is but too much reason
 ‘ to dread.’ He concludes with advising Philip to hush the affair, as ‘ the noise which it had
 ‘ already made, had done but too much harm *.’

In France, the public were strongly affected by the rumour; but it was soon over. The Dutchess of Orleans, who, while the clamour was at its height, had been attacked by a violent colic, got better, and was safely brought to bed; in consequence of which, the fear and the suspicion of poison dropped. The heads of the cabal of Meudon, never at rest, availed themselves of the unfavourable impression which the supposed misconduct of the Duke of Orleans had made on the mind of the Dauphin, to keep at a distance from him the only Prince of the blood whose power could counterbalance theirs, in the event of the Dauphin’s coming to the throne; for they were already well assured that the Duke of Burgundy would have no influence with his father. The Dutchess of Bourbon was at the head of the cabal; and she was animated by personal ill will against the Duke of Orleans, because he kept up more strictly than she could have wished, the distinctions between the legitimate and the illegitimate Princes of the blood; because he was intrusted with the command of armies, to the prejudice, as she thought, of her husband the Duke of Bourbon, whose resentment

* Noailles, t. 4. p. 76.

ment she shared, without making herself very uneasy about the matter; and because, what was an unpardonable crime, he used sometimes to hint wittily at her former gallantries. The Duke and Dutcheſs of Maine, though not actually of the cabal of Meudon, kept on fair terms with her, that they might not be deſtitute of all reſource when the Dauphin ſhould come to the throne; and if they did not contribute to ſpread the injurious reports that were propagated relative to the Duke of Orleans, they were at leaſt not ill pleaſed that he ſhould be regarded with an eye of ſuſpicion in France.

In Spain, the Princeſs d'Urfini continued his ſteady enemy, and inſpired the King and the Queen, whom he governed with abſolute power, with the ſame ſentiments*. Attempts were made to deprive her of her power. St Simon mentions one which ſeems inconſiſtent with the motives and the conſequences which he joins with it. He relates, that the Duke of Noailles, who remained in Spain to ſecond the Duke of Vendome, formed a plot, in concert with the Marquis d'Aguilar, Captain of the Spaniſh Guards, to deſtroy the credit of the Princeſs d'Urfini with the King. ' The expedient which they ' contrived to accompliſh their deſign, was firſt ' to ſhake the power of the Queen, in the per- ' ſuaſion that the influence of the Camerera ' Major, whom they believed to have no influ-
' ence,

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of Noailles.

* St Simon, t. 3. p. 226.

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‘ence, unless through her, would then fall of
 ‘itself. Her Majesty was attacked by a disorder, which broke out at her throat, and was
 ‘regarded as incurable and infectious. It prevented her from attending the King in his
 ‘journeys, to hunting, and even from walking out with him. She was confined to her apartment, and could neither appear in public, nor keep company with her husband. The
 ‘two friends made no doubt but they might take advantage of the Queen’s illness, to impress the King with a disgust for her, and lead him to form a new attachment. They
 ‘availed themselves of his fears about his health, and, under pretence of affection, made him
 ‘afraid of coming near his wife, or even eating with her. Having succeeded thus far, they
 ‘flattered themselves that the Monarch’s devotion would yield to his desires. They spent
 ‘some days in preparing him by discourses on the imperious force of necessity; and when
 ‘they thought him properly disposed, ventured to propose a mistress.

‘Thus far every thing had gone well; but the word mistress startled the King’s piety,
 ‘He could not help mentioning it to the Queen, and she spoke of it to the Princess d’Ursini.
 ‘They wrote both to France; the Queen, to her sister the Dutchess of Burgundy, who had
 ‘a great affection for her; and the Princess, to Madame de Maintenon, her protectress and
 ‘confident.

‘ confident. By the return of the messenger, PART III.
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‘ the Duke of Noailles was ordered instantly to
‘ France, and the Marquis d’Aguilar banished
‘ from Court.’

Many circumstances concur to discredit this imputation, so far as it respects the Duke of Noailles. St Simon himself acknowledges, that the plot to remove the favourite by any means, was likely enough to have been concerted by d’Aguilar, who, as his birth and honours attached him to Spain, might naturally wish to make himself master of the Administration. But he confesses that he cannot see upon what motives the Duke of Noailles could engage in such an enterprize: ‘ A stranger in Spain, so happily
‘ and so early established in France, and, for a
‘ man of his age, loaded with a profusion of
‘ wealth, offices, dignities, distinctions, and ho-
‘ nours of all sorts.’ The Duke must then have fallen in a very short space, from that elevation of virtue which Madame de Maintenon ascribed to him, when she wrote to him, two years before, ‘ Your superior wisdom is your greatest
‘ happiness.’

St Simon, still satisfied of the truth of the story, notwithstanding the judicious reflections which he makes on its improbability, adds, that
‘ this action on the part of a nephew, in whom
‘ Madame de Maintenon had the greatest confi-
‘ dence, whom she regarded as her friend and
‘ counsellor, who could have no interests distinct
‘ from

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‘ from hers, made a deep impresson on her heart.
 ‘ Time and changes seemed to have worn it a-
 ‘ way ; but, to the very last, it occasioned a want
 ‘ of cordiality between them. The King’s dry-
 ‘ ness to her, the awkwardness and confusion of
 ‘ Noailles in the presence of the Monarch, of
 ‘ the Dauphin, of the Duke, and especially of
 ‘ the Dutchess of Burgundy, shewed plainly,
 ‘ that something serious, and of weighty import,
 ‘ was the matter with respect to him.’

These consequences, and this punishment of a criminal action, were they real, would certainly appear in the letters written by Madame de Maintenon to the Duke of Noailles, when he was returning into France, and after his arrival. It appears first, that he was not abruptly recalled, but was left at liberty to return when he thought proper. “ I see plainly,” says she, “ that something has happened in Spain which makes you wish to return. I can conceive that you dont chuse to stay any longer than you can be of service. I have no intention to oppose those of honest sentiments, which I know you to possess. But, in wishing to stay, you carry them too far. It is to your honour to have been detained by their Catholic Majesties. The King approves of all that you have done*.” In a few days, yielding to her desire to see him, she writes with the liveliest tenderness : “ Return, my dear Duke, and return
 “ wiser

* Maintenon’s Letters, t. 5. p. 224.

“ wiser than ever.” Would such an expression have been made use of to a man whose wisdom had failed so prodigiously, by a person who knew what had happened? — Besides, the disgrace mentioned by St Simon must have been of very short duration; for, in less than six months after, the aunt wrote to her nephew: “ The King “ tells me, that you are much worse than when “ I saw you; that you are in a very melanco- “ ly state; the hearing of which adds to my “ distress; but the concern which his Majesty “ expresses for the state of your health should “ make you easy.” The banishment of the Marquis d’Aguilar, who was probably culpable, and was a friend of the Duke of Noailles, happening at the very time when he left Spain, might give rise to this anecdote; which, as we have seen, is, so far as it respects the Duke, improbable in the motives and the consequences which it ascribes to his conduct.

Another fact, contradictory to this anecdote, is, that the King of Spain afterwards offered him the dignity of a Grandee, and Lewis XIV. directed him to accept. ‘ Noailles was a man born ‘ to make a great fortune, if he had not found ‘ it ready made for him. He was of a large ‘ broad figure; his gait was firm and heavy; ‘ he dressed in the uniform of an officer, with ‘ an appearance of simplicity, which gave him ‘ the air of a man negligent of ceremony, and ‘ formed for an easy companion. I have seldom
‘ seen

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‘ seen more universal abilities, or greater addreſs
 ‘ in accommodating one’s ſelf to others, and
 ‘ perſuading them that you were influenced by
 ‘ the ſame affections, impelled by the ſame de-
 ‘ fires, and entirely occupied by them, and no-
 ‘ thing elſe; obliging, affable, attentive, enter-
 ‘ taining, ſprightly, a maſter in delicate raille-
 ‘ ry, incapable of dropping a word that might
 ‘ offend; frequently indulging in lively fallies,
 ‘ never peeviſh, with the talent of ſaying what-
 ‘ ever occurred to him, and of talking all the
 ‘ day long, without ſaying any thing that you
 ‘ could poſſibly retain; a circumſtance which
 ‘ happened eſpecially when he found himſelf
 ‘ any way embarrassed. I was ſurprized at this,’
 ſays St Simon, ‘ and have ſometimes aſked him,
 ‘ how he could ſo ſuddenly turn from ſolid, in-
 ‘ ſtructive, intereſting converſation, to mere non-
 ‘ ſenſe.’

‘ His little attentions are ſo naturally paid to
 ‘ perſons whom he wiſhes to gain, and ſo agree-
 ‘ ably diverſified, and accompanied with ſuch
 ‘ ſurpriſing eaſe of manners, that however mul-
 ‘ tiplied, however long continued, they never
 ‘ diſguſt. It is pleaſing to hear him ſpeak; for
 ‘ his elocution is diſtinct and harmonious, and
 ‘ his eloquence powerful. Yet it favours too
 ‘ much of art, and there is ſomething rather too
 ‘ ceremonious; he does indeed tell a ſtory with
 ‘ a charming ſprightlineſs of manner. Out of
 ‘ nothing, he knows how to make ſomething.
 ‘ He

‘ He can rally a company when they begin to
 ‘ fall dull ; and, without effort, he enlivens the
 ‘ most serious affairs.’

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After praise comes satire, and that so severe, as to tempt us to think, that the two cotemporaries must have had some disagreement, which recurred to the mind of St Simon when writing. He ascribes to the Duke of Noailles, ambition, a selfish regard to his own interest, such eagerness to accomplish his purpose, as rendered him capable of any thing, dark malice, indifference in the guise of friendship, deceit with the appearance of frankness ; in short, what may be called accomplished perfidy, if there were any such thing at Court. He says, likewise, what will hardly be believed, that Noailles had a confused head, and could not even make out a memoir, but had those which he presented to the Council as his own, drawn out for him by obscure people ; that he had always projects confounded together in his brain, which he knew not how to reduce to order, and of consequence, could never take a decisive part ; that this want of determination made him shift perpetually ; when at the head of armies he wore out his troops, without plan or object, harassed them by unnecessary marches and countermarches, and by a perpetual contrariety of orders. But it is only doing him justice to acknowledge, that he conducted the war successfully in Sardinia and Catalonia ; that in

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Circum-
stance
which gave
uneasiness
to the
King.

Expences
of the war.

Spain he gave powerful assistance to the Duke of Vendome, and often routed the enemy; and that he is one of those Generals whose successes from time to time consoled Lewis XIV. amid the disgraces of his old age.

At that time of life, when we naturally hope for repose, it is painful to employ means to avert or remedy misfortune, and must be still more so to bear its weight. Few Kings have been so overwhelmed with misfortune in the latter part of life as Lewis XIV. War, the miseries of his subjects, the necessary increase of taxes, changes of Ministers, domestic uneasiness, and the loss of all whom he held dearest, successively ravished from him by death, concurred to pierce his soul with the keenest distress. Even before his misfortunes rose to their height, Madame de Maintenon, whose sentiments we view as a faithful copy of those of the Prince, wrote; "I submit to the will of God, yet cannot dispel my melancholy. A greater share of fortitude is requisite here than if I were going out to battle. In battle you are *killed*; here you *die*."

War, so expensive when conducted with the utmost frugality, became still more ruinous to Lewis, in consequence of his keeping up an unnecessary number of troops, and a superfluous military apparatus. Under Lewis XIII. the strongest armies never consisted of more than thirty or forty thousand men. The works of fortified places were a circular range of walls, towers

towers and ditches, which were kept up without great expence. When Lewis XIV. fought to make Europe tremble by the ostentatious display of his power, he brought on the field armies of an hundred thousand men, and caused double the necessary quantity of provision to be carried before and brought after him. Genius invented works of fortification, which required deep excavations, strong buildings, which they would even have agreeable to the eye,—works which sometimes encircled a town a mile and a half in circumference, and cost more than the town was worth. France had indeed her Vauban, but the enemies had their Cohorn; and they, in their turn, loaded the earth with impregnable fortresses, covered it with an hundred thousand soldiers, and furnished these with ammunition, artillery, and provisions, at an expence which exhausted kingdoms: Those contending nations may be said to have laboured rather to ruin than to destroy each other.

Of this prodigality we may form an estimate, by what remained before two towns, the siege of which the French raised in 1706. ‘ Before Barcelona were an hundred and six pieces of ‘ cast cannon, forty-seven mortars, two thousand ‘ bombs, ten thousand granadoes, forty thousand ‘ bullets, five thousand barrels of powder, five ‘ hundred barrels of musket balls, eight thousand ‘ swords, thirteen thousand bags of flour, ‘ wheat and oats in proportion. Before Turin,

K 2

‘ were

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‘ were two hundred and forty-five pieces of cannon, an hundred and eight mortars, seven thousand and eight hundred bombs, seven thousand and two hundred royal granadoes, seven thousand and five hundred small granadoes, forty-eight thousand cannon bullets, eighty-six thousand quintals* of powder, besides tents, chariots, horses, and a vast quantity of baggage †.’

Royal
Tenth.
Bois-Guil-
lebert.

These and the many other losses during this war, could only be repaired at the expence of the people. Even in Pontchartrain’s administration, the Ministry had been put to shifts. ‘ A person one day applied to him with a memoir, proposing a more equitable imposition of the taxes, in consequence of which they should come directly into the King’s coffers, and the nation be relieved of the expence of collecting them. ‘ Hear me,’ said he to the Minister, “ at first you may perhaps take me for a fool; “ but you will afterwards see, that what I have “ to say merits attention, and will be forced to “ approve of my system.” Pontchartrain looked at him, was struck with something odd in his countenance, and having been daily teased by people who came to offer projects for the same end, tartly replied, ‘ I take you at your supposition,’ and turned his back. The person whom he treated thus, was Bois-Guillebert, Lieutenant-General

‘ of

* Or Cwt.

† D’Avrigny, t. 5. p. 89.—107.

‘ of the Presidial* of Rouen, brother to one of the
 ‘ Counsellors to the Parliament of Normandy, a PART III.
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 ‘ man of great industry, and considerable ge-
 ‘ nius. He was ill satisfied with such a recep-
 ‘ tion, and had his scheme printed †.’

It agreed in substance with that proposed by
 Marshal Vauban, though no communication of
 sentiments on the subject had passed between
 them. ‘ Vauban had been, all his life, affected
 ‘ with the misery of the people, and the hard-
 ‘ ships which they suffered. The opportunities
 ‘ which his employments afforded him of know-
 ‘ ing the King’s expences, both the necessary,
 ‘ and those of pleasure and magnificence, and
 ‘ his being at the same time convinced that it
 ‘ was impossible for his Majesty ever to retrench
 ‘ in any thing, depressed him with an anxiety
 ‘ which became daily more solicitous. In this
 ‘ disposition of mind, on every journey which
 ‘ he took through the kingdom, and his office
 ‘ obliged him to visit every part of it, he was
 ‘ careful to inform himself accurately of the
 ‘ produce and value of the lands, the industry
 ‘ of the provinces and cities, the nature and the

K 3

weight

* Presidials are inferior courts of judicature, from which
 an appeal lies before the Parliaments. T.

† With the title of ‘ Account of France under the Pre-
 ‘ sent Reign, explaining the cause of the diminution of her
 ‘ revenues, and pointing out an easy remedy.’ By Pierre
 le Pesants, Sieur de Bois-Guillebert, Rouen, 1707, 2 vols.
 12mo.

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weight of the taxes, and the mode of collecting them. Not satisfied with what he could himself see and do, wherever he could not conveniently go, and even where he had been, and was to be again, he secretly sent people whom he employed to review his calculations, and compare the reports which should be made to them, with what he had himself observed. At least five and twenty years were employed in these researches, and he was at great expence to gain the requisite information. He often examined them, to ascertain their accuracy with all possible exactness of calculation, in which he is well known to have excelled. He at last became convinced, that lands are the only permanent article of property, and, of consequence, the only one that can bear a fixed and permanent tax; and upon these principles, he sat down to form a system for the raising of the revenue.

While he was thus engaged, Bois-Guillebert's work appeared. Chamillart, who had by this time succeeded Pontchartrain, examined it, formed a good opinion of it, and desired to see and converse with the author. As an upright Minister, who has no other views but to know what is best, he gave it a candid hearing. Vauban, whose intentions were the same, likewise conferred with Bois-Guillebert. They agreed with respect to the principal things; but not entirely. Bois-Guillebert was
for

‘ for levying some customs on foreign trade, and
 ‘ on several necessaries, in the way of the
 ‘ Dutch; and proposed only the abolition of such
 ‘ as were most odious, and of those especially
 ‘ the levying of which was so expensive, that
 ‘ instead of enriching the King’s coffers, they
 ‘ only ruined the people, and put them at the
 ‘ discretion of Farmers-general, and their offi-
 ‘ cers, who raised enormous fortunes. Vauban,
 ‘ satisfied of the necessity of suppressing such
 ‘ imposts as these, proceeded to the others.
 ‘ He proposed to levy no more than one species
 ‘ of tax, and thus by a commutation, to relieve
 ‘ the people without diminishing the King’s
 ‘ revenues.

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‘ This single tax he divided into two branches,
 ‘ which he denominated the *Royal Tenth*; the
 ‘ one to be levied on lands for a tenth of their
 ‘ produce; the other on commerce and industry,
 ‘ which far from being slackened and fettered by
 ‘ burdensome impositions, were to be warmly
 ‘ encouraged. He prescribed very judicious,
 ‘ simple and easy rules to regulate the levying
 ‘ of these two taxes, according to the value of
 ‘ each estate, and the number of tradesmen and
 ‘ merchants in the kingdom. Vauban farther
 ‘ added a comparison of the advantages and
 ‘ defects of the present system of taxation with
 ‘ those of that which he proposed, and concluded
 ‘ in favour of his own, upon proofs which, for
 ‘ accuracy and certainty, were perfectly irre-

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‘ fragable. Accordingly, when his scheme came
 ‘ to be known, it met with the approbation of
 ‘ the Clergy, the Nobility, and the people of the
 ‘ Third Estate, who are more sensible than the
 ‘ others of the abuses which creep into the as-
 ‘ sessment of the taxes.

‘ But it met with the opposition of two very
 ‘ different bodies, the Parliament and the Offi-
 ‘ cers of the Revenue. The same body who,
 ‘ from their powers of registration, regarded
 ‘ themselves as the arbiters of the taxes, were
 ‘ afraid that this new mode of taxation, render-
 ‘ ing application to them in order to an aug-
 ‘ mentation no longer necessary, might at length
 ‘ leave the Minister or the Council at liberty to
 ‘ impose new burdens on people at pleasure,
 ‘ which they should be compelled to pay, with-
 ‘ out remonstrance or redress. Different views
 ‘ excited the Officers of the Finances to raise
 ‘ their voices loudly against it. They could
 ‘ not deny that by this system the King would
 ‘ receive more than had been raised by the
 ‘ modes hitherto followed, the people would be
 ‘ freed from a multiplicity of vexations, and all
 ‘ the expence of the collecting of the taxes
 ‘ would be spared them. But it was also clear,
 ‘ that this same system, if adopted, would ruin
 ‘ a legion of farmers-general, receivers, trea-
 ‘ surers and agents of all sorts, and reduce them
 ‘ to the necessity of seeking a livelihood other-
 ‘ wise than at the expence of the public, and
 ‘ would

‘ would at the same time sap the foundations of
 ‘ the immense fortunes which were so rapidly
 ‘ accumulated by the servants of that depart-
 ‘ ment. This alone was an intolerable grie-
 ‘ vance. But another which rendered the scheme
 ‘ absolutely inadmissible, was, that its simple
 ‘ structure would divest the Comptroller-Gener-
 ‘ al, the Intendants of the Finances, and the
 ‘ Intendants of the Provinces, of their right of
 ‘ nomination to places, and their power of grant-
 ‘ ing favours ; would put it out of the power of
 ‘ their dependents, secretaries and others, to
 ‘ render themselves of consequence by the re-
 ‘ vival of taxes that had been lost or forgotten,
 ‘ and embezzling the best part of such as were
 ‘ newly imposed ; and, in short, would render
 ‘ the whole tribe unable to do either good or ill
 ‘ to any body.

‘ By these means, a sort of conspiracy was
 ‘ formed against the system. Lewis XIV. was
 ‘ persuaded that the Marshal’s conduct was ex-
 ‘ pressive rather of ostentation, and of a desire to
 ‘ appear a patriot, and render himself popular,
 ‘ than of true zeal for the public weal ; that he
 ‘ talked of a matter which he did not under-
 ‘ stand ; and that such a piece of presumption
 ‘ was a sort of censure of his government, and
 ‘ an attempt to undermine his authority. In
 ‘ consequence of these representations, the Mar-
 ‘ shal’s book was ungraciously received when he
 ‘ presented it to his Sovereign. Lewis forgot
 ‘ his

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his services, and even withdrew the affection with which he had hitherto regarded him. He ever after treated him with coldness. Poor Vauban could not survive his disgrace, but died in a few months, in deep depression of mind. The Monarch did not seem sensible of having lost a worthy and useful servant*. But to compensate for his indifference, Vauban was regretted by all France, except farmers and collectors of the taxes; and his memory was honoured with the eulogies even of enemies.

With respect to Bois-Guillebert; Chamillart, when he could not resist the force of his arguments, told him that nothing could be done respecting his scheme, till the conclusion of a peace. The projector published a Memoir, in which he shewed that Sully, upon a conviction of the disorder of the finances intrusted to him by Henry IV. set about a reformation in the management of them in the middle of a troublesome war, and accomplished his purpose. He concluded his Memoir with a series of interrogations, each article of which began with, *Must we wait for peace,* before we reform abuses which are bringing the

* Dangeau, on the contrary, relates, that on the 29th of March 1707, when Vauban was at the height of his illness, the King sent his Physician to see him, mentioned him with kindness, and said, 'I lose in him a man sincerely attached to my person and to the State.'

‘ the kingdom every day nearer ruin? *Must we* PART III.
 ‘ *wait for peace*, to save the people from dying 1708-II.
 ‘ of hunger? *Must we wait for peace*, to oppose
 ‘ the rapacity of farmers-general?—and so on.
 ‘ His reference to the conduct of Sully, and his
 ‘ interrogatories, procured him *lettres de cachet*,
 ‘ by which he was banished to a remote part of
 ‘ Auvergne. But in two months, he was restor-
 ‘ ed to his business and his family.

‘ Chamillart, feeling the weight of the finan-
 ‘ ces become every day more insupportable,
 ‘ longed to be relieved of it. The application
 ‘ which they required was injurious to his health.
 ‘ This appeared by his leanness and frequent
 ‘ fainting. When reduced to such a condition,
 ‘ after having often in vain asked leave to re-
 ‘ sign, he wrote the King a pathetic letter, in
 ‘ which he explained to his Majesty the ruinous
 ‘ situation of the finances, and the impossibility
 ‘ of his remedying it; as a tedious, laborious
 ‘ and intricate series of researches would be ne-
 ‘ cessary, to which the State, and the attention
 ‘ which he was obliged to pay to the affairs of
 ‘ the War-department, rendered it impossible
 ‘ for him to apply. He concluded with these
 ‘ words: ‘ It would be an ill return for the kind-
 ‘ ness and confidence of your Majesty, did I
 ‘ not frankly confess, that all must go to ruin,
 ‘ unless you appoint another in my room.’ Op-
 ‘ posite to this paragraph Lewis wrote, ‘ Well,
 ‘ we will fall together.’ In a few days, how-
 ‘ ever,

Chamillart
retires.

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‘ ever, he granted his request ; and in February
‘ 1708, named Desmarets, nephew to Colbert,
‘ Comptroller-General *.’

Desmarets.

St Simon describes Desmarets as differing from Chamillart, in being guided solely by interested views in forming his connections, whereas Chamillart was capable of honest disinterested friendship. ‘ He was a man of sense, but heavy
‘ and slow ; could express himself gracefully enough, but was harsh, haughty and peevish.
“ I know,” said the King to him, ‘ the state of
“ my finances. I ask not of you what is impossible. If you succeed, you will do me a
“ great service. Though you cannot accomplish
“ every thing, I shall not blame you.” Desmarets set boldly to work, and one resource opened to him, which, however, was not so productive as had been expected. I shall give the account of it in St Simon’s own words. It shews but too well perhaps the true nature of those presents to the public, of which we boast as demonstrations of patriotic zeal.

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Silver-plate
coined.

‘ The allies having, in the beginning of the
‘ year 1709, rejected the terms offered them by
‘ President Rouillé, and Torcy, Minister for foreign affairs, it was thought proper to animate
‘ the zeal of all ranks, by making public the
‘ extravagant demands of the enemy. The
‘ King wrote a letter to the Governors of the
‘ Provinces,

* St Simon, t. 4. p. 24.

‘ Provinces, informing them what humiliating
‘ concessions he had made, with the view of
‘ obtaining peace. This letter being made as
‘ public as possible, had all the wished for suc-
‘ cess. A cry of indignation arose from all
‘ quarters, with vows to sacrifice every thing to
‘ maintain the war to the last extremity. The
‘ Dutchess of Grammont, being on ill terms at
‘ Court, imagined, that amid this general en-
‘ thusiasm, she had found out means to recom-
‘ mend herself to favour. She proposed to her
‘ husband, to offer his silver-plate to the King ;
‘ believing, that if the example were generally
‘ followed, she should be honoured and reward-
‘ ed for having discovered the expedient. As
‘ Grammont was going to speak of it to the
‘ Comptroller-General, he met his son-in-law,
‘ the Duke of Boufflers. Boufflers, in making
‘ his offer, made so much noise, in order to
‘ draw in others to follow the example, that he
‘ passed for the first proposer, and never a word
‘ was said of the old Dutchess.

‘ The idea pleased Desmarets, and he men-
‘ tioned it to the King. Boufflers, and his fa-
‘ ther-in-law, were honoured with a profusion
‘ of thanks. The news immediately reached
‘ the old Duke of Roche-Foucaud, who was
‘ blind. Without loss of time, he caused him-
‘ self to be carried to the King, stopped his Ma-
‘ jesty as he was going to see Madame de Main-
‘ tenon, and began to reproach him in a very
‘ loud

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‘ loud tone, for shewing so little regard to an
 ‘ old servant, worthy of all his confidence ; con-
 ‘ cluding, that he was quite disconsolate, and
 ‘ overwhelmed with the deepest chagrin. The
 ‘ King was astonished. The Courtiers could
 ‘ not imagine what mighty misfortune the
 ‘ Duke had to complain of. At last, he almost
 ‘ sobbed out, ‘ Your Majesty receives every bo-
 “ dy’s plate, without having done me the ho-
 “ nour of asking mine first.’ The King, who
 ‘ was afraid of something else, was glad to come
 ‘ off thus, and told him, ‘ That he had as yet
 “ made no resolution upon that head ; but if he
 “ should determine upon accepting the offer
 “ that had been made, would give him the first
 “ notice.’ The old man began with loud ac-
 ‘ knowledgments, and continued them till the
 ‘ King was at a considerable distance.

‘ In fact, Lewis spoke of this measure to the
 ‘ Council of the Finances, and expressed him-
 ‘ self inclined to adopt it. It had been before
 ‘ proposed, when Pontchartrain was at the head
 ‘ of the finances. He approved no more of it
 ‘ now when Chancellor. He represented what
 ‘ a trifling profit would accrue to the State, from
 ‘ a loss which would be considerably felt by each
 ‘ individual ; how transient, how little service-
 ‘ able it would be, and what an insignificant
 ‘ aid it would afford. He described the sorrow
 ‘ even of those who made the sacrifice with the
 ‘ greatest good will, as renewed at every meal.

“ What

“ What an absurd inequality are you going to
 “ introduce? If you leave people to their plea-
 “ sure, while the Court is served on earthen
 “ ware, Paris and the Provinces will still use
 “ their plate. If you use compulsion, a general
 “ despair will arise, and every person will con-
 “ ceal his plate.’ He strenuously urged too,
 ‘ the pitiful appearance which such an expe-
 ‘ dient would have among foreign nations.
 “ When this resource is exhausted, they will
 “ think you have none else remaining; and
 “ what little credit you still retain, will be en-
 “ tirely destroyed.’ Desmarets, to whom this
 ‘ expedient was to bring in millions, notwith-
 ‘ standing his distress, gave his voice with the
 ‘ Chancellor. Yet, in spite of such strong and
 ‘ palpable reasons, the King determined not to
 ‘ compel any person, but to accept whatever
 ‘ should be offered, and made a verbal declara-
 ‘ tion to that purpose.

‘ Two ways of acting the good citizen were
 ‘ pointed out; Launay, the King’s goldsmith,
 ‘ and the mint. Those who gave their plate in
 ‘ a free gift, carried it to Launay, who kept a
 ‘ register of their names and quality. The
 ‘ King had this list presented to him, at least
 ‘ for some days at first, thanked the persons
 ‘ whose names were inscribed, and promised to
 ‘ return them the full value, when the state of
 ‘ his affairs should permit, which nobody ex-
 ‘ pected. Those who wanted the price of their
 ‘ plate,

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‘ plate, sent it to the mint, where it was weigh-
 ‘ ed, noted, and money paid for it in part, with
 ‘ bills for the rest.

‘ This shift occasioned a great bustle about
 ‘ Court. None durst keep back, and none were
 ‘ willing to give. Some were vexed to follow
 ‘ an example, when the first proposer would
 ‘ have all the praise ; others were grieved to de-
 ‘ prive themselves of a resource which they had
 ‘ thought of saving against the last extremity ;
 ‘ yet a good many were not ill pleased to have
 ‘ such a decent pretext for selling their plate,
 ‘ to relieve their necessities. The loss was in-
 ‘ valuable in respect to the sculpture, relief, and
 ‘ other ornaments of exquisite workmanship upon
 ‘ the plate of the rich and luxurious. The
 ‘ King sent all his own gold plate to the mint,
 ‘ and reduced himself to silver and gilt work.
 ‘ The Princes and Princesses of the blood, re-
 ‘ duced themselves to porcelain and pottery.
 ‘ According to accounts, there were not above
 ‘ an hundred on Launay’s list. The City and
 ‘ the Provinces did not greatly enrich the mint ;
 ‘ and those who expected nothing from the
 ‘ Court, kept their silver utensils. The Dutchess
 ‘ of Grammont, at the very first, piqued, no
 ‘ doubt, at not deriving all the advantage she
 ‘ had expected from her contrivance, locked up
 ‘ the best part of hers, and gave only a very
 ‘ small quantity. Many others did the same.
 ‘ The King saw through their pretences, and
 ‘ explained

explained himself on a subject with unusual acrimony. 'For myself,' says St Simon, 'I kept back, with the Dukes de Villeroy and de Lauzun, and we soon found ourselves not behind the foremost; for in three months the king became sensible of the weakness and pitifulness of the resource, and acknowledged himself sorry for having adopted it.'

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Spain, more fortunate than France, received about this time a *wind-fall*, at which nobody was grieved, or, at least, none durst complain.

The Jesuit's chocolate.

'In a vessel, which was one of a rich fleet that arrived at Cadiz, were found eight very large chests of chocolate, on account of the very Reverend the Father-general of the Society of Jesus. The chests proved too heavy for the people who were to carry them on shore; a double number were employed, and even these were scarce able to carry them to the Custom-house. When conveyed thither, curiosity tempted to look what they contained. In the first that was opened, the people of the Custom-house found nothing but large balls of chocolate, lying one over another. They took up one astonishingly heavy. A second and a third produced the same surprise. They tried to break it, but in vain. Bits of the chocolate, however, flew off, and beneath appeared, instead of chocolate, balls of gold, which, when assayed, was found very pure and fine. All the other balls turned out of the same kind,—gold

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‘ under a covering of chocolate an inch thick.
 ‘ This discovery was made known at Madrid.
 ‘ The Jesuits were questioned, but they took care
 ‘ not to claim such precious chocolate, and pro-
 ‘ tested, that they knew nothing of it. On their
 ‘ disowning it, the King became the proprietor;
 ‘ and eight chests of gold, of such a bulk, were
 ‘ more than worth all the French plate.’

Lewis XIV. submitted to every measure that
 circumstances rendered necessary to obtain mo-
 ney and credit. ‘ In his youth the Fronde had
 ‘ given him an aversion for Paris, which other
 ‘ events concurred to confirm, and which he was
 ‘ not at pains to conceal. Yet when a depu-
 ‘ tation from that city had occasion to wait on
 ‘ him, during the siege of Lille, he received
 ‘ them with great affability, and, in thanking
 ‘ them for their offers, made use of the expression,
 ‘ *Gratitude to his good city of Paris.* But it did
 ‘ not escape the observation of the public, that the
 ‘ Monarch, when pronouncing these words,
 ‘ blushed, and seemed in confusion.’

Samuel
Bernard.

The Comptroller-general prevailed with him
 to condescend to another piece of complaisance,
 which forms a contrast with the haughty dignity
 of his ordinary manners. ‘ There was at Paris a
 ‘ famous banker, Samuel Bernard, the richest
 ‘ man in Europe, whose extensive credit, could he
 ‘ have been prevailed with to favour the King
 ‘ with it, would have been a great resource amid
 ‘ the difficulties of the State. But as his Majesty
 already

' already owed him a great deal, and had often PART III.
 ' broken his word with him, he refused to ac- 1709-11.
 ' commodate him with either money or bills. He
 ' was a man with whom the Farmers-general,
 ' Receivers, and Treasurers of the Revenue, had
 ' oftener occasion to do business, than he had any
 ' desire to see them. He knew his consequence,
 ' and necessity made them treat him with great
 ' deference, and much respectful attention. Des-
 ' marets in vain represented to him the urgent
 ' necessities of the State, and reminded him of the
 ' profits he had made of his dealings with the
 ' King. Bernard remained inexorable. ' How-
 " ever," said the Minister to the Monarch, ' none
 " but he can assist us. I know the state of his
 " affairs; he is very able, could we but over-
 " come his insolent and pertinacious obstinacy.
 " He is a man of foolish vanity, and would your
 " Majesty but condescend to flatter him, might
 " be persuaded to open his purse.' The King
 ' consented; and, in order to try the expedient
 ' in as delicate a manner as possible, it was agreed
 ' between them, that Desmarets should invite
 ' Bernard to do business, and dine with him at
 ' Marly. He presented him to the King, as his
 ' Majesty was going out to walk. Lewis recei-
 ' ved him in the kindest manner, and, after some
 ' obliging expressions, observed, ' So you have
 " never seen Marly? Come with me, and I will
 " shew it you: I shall bring you back in time
 " enough to Desmarets.' Bernard attended.

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‘ During the walk, the King spoke to nobody but
 ‘ him, asked his opinion, pointed out everything to
 ‘ him, and explained all the beauties of the place,
 ‘ with that graceful condescension, and in that
 ‘ enchanting manner which he knew so well how
 ‘ to assume, when he chose to overpower with
 ‘ his kindness. The banker, when he returned
 ‘ to the Comptroller-General, was actually at a
 ‘ loss for words to express his admiration of so
 ‘ great, so good, so affable a Prince. In the
 ‘ extravagance of his emotions, he would ra-
 ‘ ther, he said, hazard ruining himself, than see
 ‘ such a Monarch at a loss. Desmarets took him
 ‘ at his word, and obtained more than he had
 ‘ expected.’

Misery and
 murmur-
 ings.

Thus are Princes taught humanity by misfor-
 tune. Lewis XIV. now saw all the horrors of
 misery around him. It even besieged him in his
 palace. In the grand saloon of Marly, where heaps
 of gold were once ostentatiously displayed, the
 Court now tasted and compared barley, oats, and
 other grains, in order to discern which was most
 suitable, not to nourish, but to allay the hunger
 ‘ of the starving multitude *. The complaints
 and

* To shew the difference between those times and the pre-
 sent, I shall transcribe a remark made by Dangeau on the
 9th of February. ‘ The Archbishop, the First President,
 ‘ the Attorney-General, and the Provost of Paris, have met
 ‘ to determine, Whether meat should be allowed to be eaten
 ‘ in Lent, and allow only eggs till the middle of Lent.’

“ and murmurs which he could not avoid know-
 “ ing that the people uttered, pierced the heart
 “ of Lewis XIV.

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“ When it came to be known,” writes M. de
 Maintenon to the Duke de Noailles, “ when it
 “ came to be known, that the King had reject-
 “ ed the ignominious terms offered by our ene-
 “ mies to M. de Torcy, every body applauded
 “ the measure, and insisted on the prosecution of
 “ the war. But the emotion was transient ; peo-
 “ ples minds soon sunk back into that state of
 “ depression, which you observed with indigna-
 “ tion when you were here. How often have
 “ you heard them say, Why is our plate left us ?
 “ Would that his Majesty would take it all ! But
 “ since the most patriotic have set the example,
 “ all the rest are struck with alarm and conster-
 “ nation. They murmur, and begin to discover
 “ that the King should retrench his expences.
 “ His journeys to Marly, they complain, ruin the
 “ state ; they would have him give up his horses,
 “ his hounds, his attendants ; even his furniture
 “ displeases them. In a word, they would have
 “ him stripped first. And where, think you, are
 “ these complaints uttered ? At his very gate.
 “ By whom ? By people who owe to his boun-
 “ ty all that they possess. I am in danger of
 “ being stoned. The King has, however, redu-
 “ ced his table at Marly. He has sent his gold
 “ plate to the mint. His jewels he has put into
 “ the hands of M. Desmarests, to pawn them, if

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Dauphin
admitted
into the
Council.

“ he can. But they notice only what is not
“ done.”

As the public were dissatisfied to see, that the Dauphin, though near fifty years of age, was still kept as much at a distance from State-affairs as in his early youth, the King broke through the system to which he had hitherto adhered, and admitted his son into the Council. ‘ He is ‘ now busy in State-affairs,’ says Madame de Maintenon ; ‘ he examines, gives audience, and ‘ conveys to the King the complaints which he ‘ hears ; but after all, says, ‘ I have spoken of it,’ ‘ and by such means brings additional blame on ‘ his father.’

Disgrace of
Chamillart.

The King was chiefly blamed for his obstinacy in not dismissing Chamillart from the War-department, notwithstanding the general complaints of his want of capacity. The campaign of 1709 subjected him to more blame than ever ; because, in expectation that the enemy must infallibly accept the terms of peace that were offered them, he had neglected all preparations. This was loudly complained of. ‘ The outcry ‘ against the man whom you know,’ writes the same lady, ‘ becomes louder every day, and has ‘ even reached his master’s ears. He cannot ‘ resolve to part with him ; for he pities him, ‘ and is sensible that he at present labours with ‘ the utmost anxiety and activity.’ But he was too tardy.

‘ His most openly avowed enemies were the
‘ Dukes of Harcourt and Boufflers, who were
‘ both

‘ both dissatisfied that Chamillart had not
 ‘ condoned them, as, in their opinion, he both
 ‘ ought and might, when they commanded, the
 ‘ one in Germany, the other in Lisle. Besides
 ‘ these motives, Harcourt considered himself
 ‘ bound, as a man of honour, to declare his sen-
 ‘ timents boldly, of a man, who would, he
 ‘ feared, prove, from want of capacity, the ruin
 ‘ of France. When he was one day talking in
 ‘ this style to Madame de Maintenon, she asked
 ‘ whom he would have put in his place? ‘ Fa-
 ‘ gon, Madam,’ replied he, coolly. ‘ You
 ‘ jest,’ returned she; ‘ and yet the affair is too
 ‘ serious for jesting.’ ‘ I am in earnest, Ma-
 ‘ dam. M. Fagon is a good Physician, but not
 ‘ a military man; M. Chamillart is a Magi-
 ‘ strate, but not a military man either. M. Fa-
 ‘ gon is a man of considerable genius and good
 ‘ sense; M. Chamillart is destitute of both.
 ‘ M. Fagon may at first blunder for want of
 ‘ experience, but reflection, and the force of
 ‘ his abilities, will soon enable him to correct
 ‘ his blunders; M. Chamillart blunders too,
 ‘ and will continue to blunder, till the State
 ‘ be ruined without resource. I therefore re-
 ‘ peat, in the most serious manner, that M. Fa-
 ‘ gon is much fitter for the place than he.”

This piece of pleasantry reached the King’s
 ears, and did inconceivable mischief to the Mi-
 nister. His dismissal was instantly resolved up-
 on, and the order to retire sent him by his old

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friend the Duke de Beauvilliers. Chamillart, observing the Duke wear a sorrowful air, suitable to the import of his message, asked if any new misfortune had befallen the King. 'No,' replied the Duke, 'but he has commanded me to inform you, that he has no longer occasion for your services.' 'I was afraid of something more disagreeable,' returned the Ex-minister; 'but since his Majesty is well, I am content.' He delivered up his papers, and continued to maintain a placid tranquillity, which is very seldom displayed on such occasions. 'Lewis XIV. accompanied this order with all possible marks of kindness. Chamillart was permitted to go wherever he chose, except to Court. Large pensions were settled on him and his wife. His son was gratified with the Survivorship of a profitable office. 'M. Voisin is now in Chamillart's place,' says Madame de Maintenon; 'and I am less pleased with him than with his predecessor.' The King,' observes St Simon, 'acted like sick persons, who change their Physicians, without finding themselves better.'

Voisin Minister at War.

According to Berwick*, 'Voisin gave assiduous application. Business was his passion; he was strictly just, sought carefully to find out men of merit, and wished to employ none else. He was a man of sense, capable of great accuracy in minute details, little skilled in politics,

* T. 2. p. 75.

‘ litics, and very harsh in his replies.’ St Simon, PART III.
1709-11.
 in his usual way, dwells a little on the latter particular*. If we may believe him, ‘ Voisin was
 ‘ not only harsh, but dry, destitute of politeness,
 ‘ unfit for the intercourse of mankind, proud,
 ‘ haughty, and insufferably insolent, as is generally the case with Intendants. Never was a
 ‘ man more completely the Intendant, from first
 ‘ to last, in every particular of his character.
 ‘ Never man answered in a more authoritative
 ‘ tone to every question that was put to him.
 ‘ Courtiers, Nobles, general and subaltern Officers, having all been accustomed to the easy
 ‘ access, the obliging attention, and the gentle
 ‘ style of Chamillart, were greatly disconcerted
 ‘ at finding in his successor a man who was
 ‘ scarce visible, and could not bear to be troubled, who listened with knitted brows, shifted
 ‘ the subject, cut short their representations, answered drily in two or three words, turned his
 ‘ back when a reply was attempted, and, in short, shut peoples mouths by his decisive and
 ‘ imperious manner. His letters, void of obliging expressions, were merely laconic answers,
 ‘ consisting of brief and harsh assertions and
 ‘ commands, constantly enforced with this phrase,
 ‘ “ Such is the King’s pleasure.” The King and
 ‘ Madame de Maintenon were to him both law
 ‘ and reason.’

Like

* T. 4. p. 251.

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1709-11.

Like some other people in office, he possibly took this mode of requiting himself for the chagrin which he occasionally suffered from his Sovereign. ‘ On the arrival of the first courier from Villars who commanded in Flanders, Voisin, finding that the General demanded a decision concerning some plans of operation which he proposed, carried his dispatches to the King, and said that he could not at present determine which of these plans was preferable, but that he hoped to spare his Majesty, in future, the trouble of such a decision. This was not the language of Chamillart, who appeared always charmed to leave every thing to the King. Even Louvois, and his son Barbesieux, knowing how much Lewis valued himself on his skill in war, and how jealous he was of being equalled by any other person, like Mansard with his plans of architecture, left always some egregious fault for his Majesty to discover, and then gave him the praise of superior discernment. He was much surprised therefore to hear a man who had been bred to the law, express the presumptuous hope of becoming able to decide, of himself, on military affairs, and replied drily, ‘ You are too much a novice to pretend to any judgment on such a matter. Know, and take care to remember, that on small as well as great matters, your sole business is to receive and expedite my orders.’ He afterwards forbade him to do aught, with-

‘ out

‘ out communicating it to Marshal Boufflers. PART III.
 ‘ Accordingly, the new Minister and the Mar- 1709-11.
 ‘ shal were seen going perpetually with bundles
 ‘ of papers between each others houses, and Voi-
 ‘ sin waited oftener on Boufflers than Boufflers
 ‘ on him.’

But he remained not long in this state of sub-
 jection. The Marshal, finding that the armies
 in Flanders were on the eve of a decisive battle,
 with the spirit of a Roman hero, asked leave to
 repair to the army, on whose operations the safe-
 ty of France seemed to depend. He generously
 offered to serve as Aid-de-camp to a younger
 officer. Villars received him as his equal, and was
 nobly seconded by him in the battle of Malpla-
 quet. ‘ According to accounts, had not Mar-
 ‘ shal Villars been wounded, we might have
 ‘ gained the battle. He fought as if he had his
 ‘ reputation still to gain. Not a regiment but
 ‘ he was at the head of. He advanced to the
 ‘ charge with the boldness of a lion, and gave
 ‘ his orders with all the coolness of a philoso-
 ‘ pher in his night-gown.’ This battle was the
 bloodiest fought during the whole reign of
 Lewis XIV. The French soldiers, most of
 whom had not tasted meat for four and twenty
 hours, threw away their bread to advance to the
 battle. The allies joined battle with thirty
 thousand men, the French with eight. After
 eight hours close combat, the French retired,
 rather overpowered by numbers than vanquish-
 ed,

Malpla-
 quet.

PART III. ed, bearing with them thirty flags or standards,
1709-II. which they had taken from the enemy. ‘Such
 ‘ another victory,’ said a Dutchman, ‘ and we
 ‘ are undone.’

An Officer of acknowledged bravery, who had risen step by step to the rank which he then held, was intrusted to maintain an important post. At the first attack, he was seized with a panic. He deserted his post, fled, and never stopped till he reached Calais. On his arrival at that city, where he had relations, he thought of passing over into England, to conceal his dishonour, and to escape punishment for desertion. After a night’s reflection, he wrote to Marshal Villars, confessed his fault, asked pardon of his General and his fellow-officers, begged to be brought before a court-martial, that in his punishment he might afford a salutary example, and concluded with informing the Marshal, that he waited his orders. The Marshal humanely replied, that he pitied him, advised him to forget what was past, and bade him adieu. The unhappy Officer returned his cross of the order of St Lewis, laid aside his sword, and condemned himself never to resume it. ‘ I
 ‘ saw him,’ says the person who relates this instructive anecdote, ‘ I saw him in his old age,
 ‘ dressed in his uniform, with an impression of
 ‘ deep melancholy on his countenance, attract the
 ‘ notice of the garrison, and expose himself to
 ‘ their observation as a victim devoted to igno-
 ‘ miny.’

‘ miny.’ This is a remarkable instance of the whole tenor of a life imbittered by a momentary error.

PART III.
1709-II.

The battle of Malplaquet, in which many of the nobility fell, occasioned the Court to put on mourning, or rather prevented their laying aside that which they had put on in the beginning of the year 1709, for the death of the Princes of Conti and Condé. They died soon after Father la Chaise, Confessor to Lewis XIV. who was much regretted by the Monarch. ‘ He was allowed to have been obliging, just, never enterprising nor vindictive, a warm Jesuit, but without fury, and without servility. The King repeated a reply of his which did more honour to the one than to the other, “ I reproached him one day,” said his Majesty, ‘ for being too good. No,’ returned the Father, ‘ I am not too good, but you are “ too severe.” All benefices were long bestowed through his hands, and the objects of his choice were selected with great judgment. He was very subject to political indispositions about Easter, during the continuance of the King’s attachment to Madame de Montespan. At the age of eighty, he applied for immediate leave to retire, but was refused. He was compelled to bear the budget to the last; even decrepitude and infirmities did not serve to relieve him. His memory was gone, his judgment was decayed, his ideas were become confused. Yet Lewis would still have the shadow
‘ brought

Death of
Father la
Chaise.

PART III.

1709-11.

‘ brought to him to discharge his wonted task.
 ‘ The Jesuits asked him on his death-bed, If he
 ‘ had paid due regard to the interest and ho-
 ‘ nour of the society.’ If they meant in the re-
 commendation of a successor, who might main-
 tain the credit of the society with the King,
 they had good reason to be content. Never had
 a Confessor more influence over his penitent,
 than Father Tellier who succeeded him; and
 never did Confessor exert his influence in a
 more despotic manner. He was Provincial of
 Paris, and eminent among the Jesuits for his
 concern for the glory of the society.

He had tried more than one contest with
 the Jansenists, and had no reason to boast of
 their courtesy to him on the subject of the *Chi-
 nese rites*, which he had maintained with all the
 native ardour of his character. He still viewed
 them with resentment, which the post to which
 he was now raised, enabled him to gratify. His
 first object was to gain the confidence of the
 Monarch; a matter easy to any Confessor who
 chuses to accommodate himself to the views and
 wants of him whose conscience he directs, as
 Father Tellier appears to have done when a new
 tax was proposed.

‘ Vauban had suggested the idea of a royal
 ‘ tenth; but that was to be the only tax. Def-
 ‘ marests revived the idea; but proposed the
 ‘ tenth merely as an additional tax. It must
 ‘ be allowed, that he was in the most distressing
 ‘ embarrassment.

‘ embarrassment. Paper-money of all sorts, PART III.
 ‘ with which trade was overwhelmed, and of 1709-11.
 ‘ which every species had more or less lost its
 ‘ credit, had produced a chaos which there was
 ‘ no hope of seeing reduced to order. State-
 ‘ bills, money-bills, Receivers-Generals bills on
 ‘ the land-tax, bills on furniture, were the ruin
 ‘ of private persons. The King forced his sub-
 ‘ jects to receive them in payment. They lost
 ‘ one-half, two-thirds and more, by him, as well
 ‘ as by others. Moneyed men, and the officers
 ‘ of the revenue, were enriched by discount, at
 ‘ the public expence. Circulation ceased; for
 ‘ the King constantly drew, but never paid;
 ‘ any specie, more than what was in his hands,
 ‘ was locked up in the strong boxes of men of
 ‘ large capitals. The poll-tax was doubled and
 ‘ tripled at the pleasure of the Provincial Inten-
 ‘ dants; all commodities were loaded with im-
 ‘ posts to two, three, or four times their value:
 ‘ Nobility, commonalty, and churchmen of all
 ‘ descriptions, were oppressed with taxes of an
 ‘ hundred different names. Of the produce of
 ‘ these taxes, the chief part remained in the
 ‘ hands of the Farmers-General and their a-
 ‘ gents; what the King received was inade-
 ‘ quate to his expences. Desmarets, fully sen-
 ‘ sible both of these abuses, and of the necessity
 ‘ of a fixed supply, liable to no defalcations,
 ‘ made out his scheme silently, and submitted it
 ‘ to

PART III. ' to a Board, composed on purpose, to examine
1709-II. ' and correct it.

' The members were, Bouville, Counsellor of
' State, his brother-in-law ; his son-in-law, Ber-
' cy, Intendant of the Finances ; Harlay de
' Cely, Master of Requests, his confidential
' friend ; Nointel, Counsellor of State, his wife's
' brother ; Vaubourg, his brother, another Coun-
' sellor of State, and three others, Officers of the
' Revenue, and men of great knowledge in that
' branch. Nointel, at the sight of the scheme,
' thinking it in many respects burdensome, ex-
' cused himself on some pretext or other, from
' taking any concern in it. One of the Officers
' of the Revenue followed his example. Vau-
' bourg, a man of great probity and piety,
' who, from scrupulous integrity, resigned his
' Intendancies, which he had long held with
' credit, was less shocked than they.

' Those Commissaries set to work with great
' assiduity. But no sooner were they got over
' one difficulty, than another arose. The great-
' est of all, was the necessity of obtaining from
' every individual, a faithful and accurate state
' of his property, and of the nature and number
' of his debts, active and passive ; and that upon
' such certain documents, that there can be no
' possibility of deceit. After agreeing that the
' tax was indispensibly necessary, they made no
' account of the distress which its imposition
' would produce ; of the despair of men of all
' ranks,

‘ ranks, when compelled to reveal the secrets of
 ‘ their families, many the ill condition of their
 ‘ affairs, to the ruin of that reputation and cre-
 ‘ dit on which they had hitherto subsisted ; or,
 ‘ finally, of the employment of spies and in-
 ‘ formers, to determine the state of peoples cir-
 ‘ cumstances, by an investigation which would
 ‘ operate like a lamp held out by the hand of
 ‘ an enemy to expose a hidden fore.

‘ When the Commissaries had done every
 ‘ thing in their power to alleviate this grievance,
 ‘ they made their edict under the sanction of
 ‘ pains and penalties against such delinquents
 ‘ as should be brought to conviction, and present-
 ‘ ed it to his Majesty. Accustomed as he was to
 ‘ the imposition of the most enormous taxes,
 ‘ he could not help being shocked at this : His
 ‘ uneasiness even appeared on his countenance.
 ‘ His domestics observed it, and Marechal, his
 ‘ surgeon, from whom I had the anecdote, says
 ‘ St Simon, ventured to mention, that he had ob-
 ‘ served a degree of melancholy hang about
 ‘ him for these several days, and that he was
 ‘ afraid for his Majesty’s health. Lewis acknow-
 ‘ ledged to him, that he was in great uneasiness,
 ‘ and expressed, in a general way, on the present
 ‘ posture of affairs. Having within eight or ten
 ‘ days recovered his ordinary tranquillity, he
 ‘ sent for Marechal, and, taking him by himself,
 ‘ told him : ‘ Now, that I feel myself at ease, I
 “ must tell you the cause of my anxiety, and by

PART III.

1709-II.

‘ what means I have got quit of it.—He then
 ‘ informed him, that the urgent necessity of his
 ‘ affairs having compelled him to impose new tax-
 ‘ es, his compassion for his subjects, and his unwil-
 ‘ lingness to make free with every person’s proper-
 ‘ ty, had greatly distressed him on the occasion.
 “ At last,” added he, “ I opened my mind to Father
 “ Tellier. He required some days to think of the
 “ matter. He has now brought me a consultation
 “ of the subtlest doctors of the Sorbonne, who all
 “ agree, that the whole property of my subjects
 “ is mine personally ; and that, when I take it
 “ from them, I take nothing but what is my own.
 “ This decision has restored the ease of mind
 “ which I had lost.” ‘ Luckily for Marechal
 ‘ the King immediately left him without noti-
 ‘ cing his astonishment, which would possibly
 ‘ have given offence to the Monarch *.’

Death of
 the Prince
 of Condé.

Henry Julius, Prince of Condé, whose death was mentioned above, was, through his whole life, remarkable for eccentricity of character.
 ‘ In the last year of his life, he carefully weighed
 ‘ all his food and excrements, and, noting the
 ‘ weights, puzzled his physicians with his differ-
 ‘ tations upon them. He was attacked by a gout
 ‘ and

* The best way of quieting Lewis’s conscience would have been, not to inspire him with principles of blind despotism, but to evince to him, from what he had already experienced, that there was nothing so hard, which he might not expect from his subjects, provided he chose to act in concert with them, and render their contribution voluntary.

‘ and fever, which sometimes came on together, PART III.
 ‘ sometimes in succession. He strengthened his 1709-11.
 ‘ complaints by too abstemious a regimen, by a
 ‘ solitary seclusion even from his nearest relations,
 ‘ and by an anxious attention to whimsical rules,
 ‘ which rendered him quite furious, when any
 ‘ thing occurred to make him depart from them.
 ‘ Finot, his physician, knew not what to do with
 ‘ him. What gave him the greatest perplexity
 ‘ was, that the Prince one day took it into
 ‘ his head to take no more food. He was dead,
 ‘ he said, and the dead never eat. Yet it
 ‘ was necessary, that he should take some nou-
 ‘ rishment, otherwise he would die in good ear-
 ‘ nest : But it was impossible to persuade him
 ‘ that he was alive. At last, Finot and another
 ‘ of his brethren contrived to agree, that he was
 ‘ dead, but to maintain that dead folks some-
 ‘ times eat, and actually offered to produce some
 ‘ who did so. They accordingly brought some
 ‘ people whom they had taught their lesson, and
 ‘ whom the Prince did not know, who pretend-
 ‘ ed to be dead as well as he, but eat notwith-
 ‘ standing. He followed their example, and eat
 ‘ with them.

‘ When his disorder became worse, the Prin-
 ‘ cess ventured to ask, if he would consult the
 ‘ concerns of his conscience, and see some per-
 ‘ son ; but on this head, his ordinary singularity
 ‘ had been exerted some months before. He
 ‘ had sent to Father de la Tour, General of the

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‘ Oratory, to come to him by night, and in disguise. The messenger was an under secretary, the only person to whom the secret was confided. Father de la Tour returned for answer, “ The respect which I owe to the Prince will induce me to wait on him, with all the precaution which he requires. But, whatever justice I may have a right to expect from my brethren, I cannot consent either to disguise myself, or to separate from the brother who constantly accompanies me : But, allow me my habit and my brother, and I agree to your other conditions : Provided, however, that I may get back to the Oratory before day.” The Prince accepted these terms ; and, when he desired to see him, the same sub-secretary conducted the General and his companion to a small round door, opening into a house belonging to the Hotel de Condé, and, with a lantern in one hand, and a key in the other, led him through long, dark, passages, opening and shutting upon him a great many doors, till they reached the chamber of the Prince. Father de la Tour confessed him, did often nothing but talk to entertain him, and when the Prince was satisfied, was led back by the same person through the same passages to the carriage, where the brother was waiting for him, and thence to St Honore.

‘ The Princess was very happy when her husband let her know this secret. Father de la
‘ Tour

‘ Tour was then publicly called in. The Jesuits
‘ were cruelly disappointed. They had thought
‘ themselves absolutely sure of a prince, who had
‘ been brought up among them, had sent his only
‘ son to their college, and at Chantilly, and else-
‘ where, kept no other company but with them.
‘ His titular Confessor was a Jesuit, and he sent
‘ a post-chaise for him at Easter, all the way to
‘ Rouen, where he was Rector. When he knew
‘ the Prince to be near his end, he hastened to
‘ him, of himself, but had only his journey for
‘ his pains. The Prince acted agreeably to the
‘ advice which has been mentioned as given by
‘ President de Harlay, to live with the Jesuits,
‘ and die with the Fathers of the Oratory.

‘ At the hour of death he displayed a degree of
‘ intrepidity which he had learned, he said, from
‘ a maxim of the Great Condé, his father, that,
‘ in order to meet dangers without fear, when
‘ they approach, we should accustom ourselves
‘ to view them at a distance. He appears to
‘ have taken pleasure in marking out the order
‘ of his funeral rites. After a long conversation
‘ with his son, concerning the beauties of Chan-
‘ tilly, the additions which he had planned, and
‘ the buildings which he had begun, on pur-
‘ pose to induce him to finish them, he enlarged
‘ upon the honours which he wished to be paid
‘ him in his funeral, mentioned what ceremo-
‘ nies had been omitted at the funeral of his fa-
‘ ther, and warned them to beware of neglect-

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Death of
the Prince
of Conti.

‘ ing any at his. Death surpris’d him amid these
 ‘ observations. He left, as he had wish’d, a
 ‘ very high idea of his firmness, and a very me-
 ‘ lancholy one of the disposition of his mind in
 ‘ the last hours of his life.’

His son-in-law, the Prince of Conti, in conse-
 quence of misconduct committed in his youth,
 spent a life of mortification and chagrin. After
 going in search of glory to Hungary, he returned
 to languish out his life in gloomy discontent in his
 native country. ‘ Could he have been satisfi’d
 ‘ with the soothing consolations of friendship,
 ‘ he might have been sufficiently pleas’d with
 ‘ the tenderness of his sister-in-law, the fair
 ‘ Dowager of Conti, and of the Dutchess of
 ‘ Bourbon, both daughters of Lewis XIV. and
 ‘ who appear’d both desirous to make amends
 ‘ for their father’s indifference to him. But
 ‘ depress’d with the mortification of having no
 ‘ employment, no government, not even a regi-
 ‘ ment, he sought to dispel his cares with wine
 ‘ and other amusements, which the weakness of
 ‘ his constitution did not suffer him long to en-
 ‘ joy. Thus, become insusceptible of pleasure,
 ‘ and oppress’d with uneasiness both of body
 ‘ and mind, he declined insensibly; and, to
 ‘ crown his misfortune, liv’d only to see that
 ‘ favour return’d to him too late to be enjoy’d.
 ‘ Conti had been General of the troops of the
 ‘ Italian League. In 1707, the project of an
 ‘ alliance among those States, in favour of the
 ‘ two crowns, which had never been fully form-
 ‘ ed,

‘ ed, was entirely set aside. But Chamillart, PART III.
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‘ who, though he suffered himself to be too
‘ much governed by others, and was too much
‘ under the influence of prejudices, had, not-
‘ withstanding, a true French heart, seized this
‘ first opportunity to persuade his Majesty to put
‘ the Prince at the head of another army, and
‘ obtained permission to notify to him his ap-
‘ pointment to the command of the army in
‘ Flanders. Conti was transported, and gave
‘ himself up to the most pleasing prospects. But
‘ it was too late. His health was irrecoverably
‘ lost. He became sensible of this, and the late
‘ return of the Royal favour had only the effect
‘ to make him leave life with the more regret *.

M 4

‘ Different

* What Dangeau mentions in his Journal for the 3d of August 1697, shews, that his Majesty’s reconciliation to the Prince of Conti was considerably prior to the period at which St Simon dates it. When he went to take leave of Lewis, before setting out for Poland, of which he was chosen King, the Monarch told him: “ I have always approved and applauded my son’s friendship for you ; it is with pleasure that I see him have so good a taste.” The Prince attempted to mention the unhappy period when he was on ill terms with his Majesty : “ Your behaviour has been so good ever since,” returned he, “ that I have entirely forgot the cause of our “ misunderstanding ; we will neither of us think more of it.” As he embraced him, he added, “ I despair not of seeing “ you yet, and depend so much on your friendship as to hope “ that, when peaceably settled on your throne, you will re- “ dily travel through Germany, to see me.”

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1709-II.

' Different, in this respect, from most people
 ' of his rank, he had an excellent education,
 ' and was extremely well informed. The irre-
 ' gularities of his life had obscured, but not ex-
 ' tinguished his knowledge. He chose Father
 ' de la Tour to assist his devotions on his death-
 ' bed. Life had still so many charms for Conti,
 ' and so strongly was he attached to it, that he
 ' needed great fortitude to enable him to meet
 ' death. For three months his house was con-
 ' tinually crowded with the whole train of the
 ' courtiers, and the square before it thronged
 ' with the people. The churches resounded
 ' with prayers offered up in his behalf by the
 ' most obscure as well as by the most conspicu-
 ' ous characters ;—to such a degree had his dis-
 ' grace, which was too deep and too long conti-
 ' nued, affected all hearts in his favour. The
 ' Duke of Burgundy went to see him, and the
 ' Dauphin happened to pass along the Louvre,
 ' on the river side, to the opera, while the holy
 ' sacrament was carried along the opposite side
 ' to the Prince of Conti. His attendants availed
 ' themselves of that circumstance to persuade
 ' the Dauphin to pay a visit to the Prince, whom
 ' he had not thought of seeing, although he had
 ' been brought up with him, and always assidu-
 ' ously paid his court to him. As it was a
 ' lingering disorder of which he was ill, Conti
 ' long continued to see his relations and friends,
 ' the latter of whom were very numerous for a
 ' Prince.

‘ Prince. But towards the last, he saw none
 ‘ but Father de la Tour, the Abbé Fleury, au- PART III.
 ‘ thor of the Church History, who had long
 ‘ been his preceptor, and two or three other
 ‘ pious, enlightened and learned persons. He
 ‘ retained his presence of mind to the last, and
 ‘ died in his elbow-chair, without fear or strug-
 ‘ gle, with admirably pious sentiments, yet not
 ‘ without regret at being hurried by disgrace
 ‘ prematurely to the grave, and at seeing him-
 ‘ self restored to the King’s favour, and a bril-
 ‘ liant career opened before him, only when his
 ‘ health was too far gone to be re-established*.’

1710-11.

Conferen-
 ces at Ger-
 truydem-
 berg.

He had seen the fairest prospects frustrated. In 1697, he was elected King of Poland, yet obliged to yield to Augustus, Elector of Saxony, a richer and more powerful competitor. That affair was conducted by Melchior, first Abbé and afterwards Cardinal de Polignac, whom, with the Marquis, since Marshal d’Huxelles, Lewis employed this year, 1710, in the conferences at Gertruydemberg, a small town on the confines of Dutch Brabant, within which the French Plenipotentiaries were confined.

The most formidable enemy whom the French Monarch had, more formidable than either Eu- Heinſius.
 gene

* A courtier who was on ill terms with the Prince of Conti, alleged that the Prince had spoken to his Majesty against him. ‘ Were I so happy as to have private conferences with his Majesty,’ replied the Prince, ‘ my friends should know of it sooner than my enemies.’
Dangeau on the 26th of Nov. 1706.

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 1710-11.

gene or Marlborough, because he supplied them with money, was a Burgefs of Amsterdam, Heinfius, Grand Penfionary of the United Provinces. ‘ Heinfius, firft a creature, then an intimate confident and favourite Counfeller of the Prince of Orange, and the instrument by which he had acquired his influence over the States, had adopted the interefts, the affections and the resentments of his friend and patron. ‘ He fucceeded not to the employments of the Prince, and the power which they conferred, but to his credit with his fellow-citizens, and to his art in over-ruling and directing the deliberations of their affemblies. Hurried away by his favourite object,—to humble Lewis, and flattered by the fervile court paid to him by Lewis and Marlborough, that haughty republican refused to agree to peace, unlefs it were more oppreffive to France than the war had been.

‘ The Emperor’s finances fell always fhort. ‘ The Englifh Parliament, notwithstanding the fpirit with which the nation were in general animated, were unwilling to bear the whole burden which fhould at leaft have been fhared with them by the Houfe of Auftria. Only ‘ Holland remained to make up the deficiencies of thefe two powers. Heinfius, blinded by paffion, and cajoled by the two heroes, inveigled the republic, by his artful infinuations, to profecute the war, till they were almoft entirely

' tirely ruined. We cannot but admire the PART III.
 ' eloquence, the experience and the energy of 1709-11.
 ' mind, which that Minister, who, at the age of
 ' seventy, and without the assistance of a Stadt-
 ' holder—for he had taken care to have none
 ' appointed since the death of William, and to
 ' maintain his power had reserved the office of
 ' Keeper of the Seals,—could move the machine
 ' of the State at his pleasure.' It is well known
 that the allies assembled at the Hague, with-
 out deigning to confer with the French Pleni-
 potentiaries, insolently demanded that Lewis
 should join his forces with theirs, to assist in de-
 throning his grandson. Determined to purchase
 peace at any rate, he went so far as to promise
 to prevail with Philip to content himself with
 the Crowns of Naples and Sicily ; and, in the
 case of his refusal, to supply money for the
 payment of the troops employed to drive them
 out of Spain. His offers were still unsatisfacto-
 ry, and his Ambassadors were sent home in dis-
 grace. But before setting out, the Abbé Polig-
 nac, before he took his leave, could not forbear
 expressing his indignation at the allies in gene-
 ral, after which, raising his voice, he reproach-
 ed the Dutch in particular for their ingratitude
 to the Crown of France, whose assistance had
 enabled them to shake off the yoke of the House
 of Austria, and to assume the sovereignty which
 they now enjoyed.

Lewis

PART III.

1710-11.

The Abbé
Polignac.

Lewis himself knew the abilities of the Abbé. He happened one day to say, after giving him audience, ‘ This young man has the art of persuading you to think what he pleases. While seemingly of your opinion, his sentiments are quite contrary. But such is his address in bringing about his ends, that you always find him right at last.’ Were we implicitly to follow St Simon and D’Argenson, we should have of the same man two distinct characters, marked with an amazing dissimilarity, in two of the principal features. With respect to his exterior appearance, they agree. ‘ He was,’ says the former, ‘ a large handsome man, with a fine face, a great deal of wit and elegance, skilled in all branches of knowledge, a most agreeable address, an enchanting voice, mild, insinuating eloquence, yet sufficiently masculine, a choice of words, a pleasing turn of style, and a mode of expression peculiar to himself. All that he said flowed from the heart ; all was persuasive. None was better skilled in polite literature, nor was more entertaining in narration, or happier in elucidating the most abstract ideas by simple perspicuity of manner.’

D’Argenson, entering more fully into an account of these elegant accomplishments, gives the history of his studies as having been very brilliant, very different from what the Duke says of them, when he asserts, ‘ That of all professions, what belonged to his own as a clergy-
man,

‘ man, was that which he was least acquainted
 ‘ with.’ The Minister says, ‘ When I see Car-
 ‘ dinal Polignac, I am quite amazed at the ex-
 ‘ tent and variety of his knowledge. He in-
 ‘ spires me with sentiments of affection and
 ‘ esteem. He seems to be the last among the
 ‘ great Prelates of the Gallican church, who can
 ‘ harangue with the same fluency in Latin as in
 ‘ French, and whose erudition is truly exten-
 ‘ sive.’ The former blames him for want of
 judgment in his negociations in Poland, and at
 Gertruydemberg. The other shews, that he suc-
 ceeded at Rome and Utrecht, in affairs of equal
 importance, and not less arduous. It is not
 easily seen upon what grounds St Simon de-
 scribes him as the slave of ambition, destitute of
 friendship, gratitude, or any but the most selfish
 sentiments, when he yet allows that he persisted
 at the risk of his fortune, in his attachment to
 Cardinal Bouillon. ‘ Polignac’s fortune was
 ‘ unsuitable to his birth, and this circumstance
 ‘ secured him from envy, and gained him friends
 ‘ who strove to promote his interest at Court.
 ‘ In his youth, the most amiable women about
 ‘ Court, those who were beginning to wear up
 ‘ in years, and the men who were most distin-
 ‘ guished for the offices which they held, and
 ‘ the credit which they enjoyed, were fond of
 ‘ his company,—he was always the delight of
 ‘ the circle.’ And a man who saw him fre-
 quently in his old age, said, ‘ To give an idea
 ‘ of

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‘ of a great Prelate, a learned Cardinal, a sagacious and dignified Ambassador, a famous Roman orator, one must draw the character of ‘ Cardinal Polignac.’

In the year 1710, three events in the family of Lewis XIV. attracted the attention of the public; the death of his son-in-law, the Duke of Bourbon, the marriage of his grandson the Duke of Berry with his grand-daughter, Mademoiselle of Orleans, and the elevation of rank granted to the children of his son, the Duke of Maine.

Death of
 the Duke of
 Bourbon.

The Duke of Bourbon survived the Prince of Condé only eleven months, so that almost his whole life was spent under the tutelage of a harsh and fantastic father. According to St Simon, ‘ the ‘ constraint under which he lived, did not prevent him from breaking out at times into brutal sallies of passion. He was brave, like all ‘ his race, more generous than most of them, ‘ and as malicious as any of them. Nobody ‘ was safe near him. None, even of his friends, ‘ could endure him. Gross and open insults, ‘ cutting raillery, sarcastic songs, were sure to ‘ wound whoever approached him, so severely, ‘ that the scar was never effaced. But he was ‘ often paid in the same coin, and even more ‘ cruelly.’ St Simon is said to take his revenge here, for some piece of ill treatment which he suffered from this Prince. He ascribes to him debauched manners, frequent bursts of the most
 furious

furious jealousy against merit of whatever sort, and an unvaried contrast of love and hatred to his wife at the same time, his motive to which was rather suspected than known.

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From a Prince who kept himself and those about him constantly unhappy, it is pleasing to turn our eyes on another, whose mild virtues and amiable qualities won all hearts, except the heart the most essential to his happiness. Such was the Duke of Berry, third son to the Dauphin. ' He was of a middle size, rather thick, ' of a beautiful fair complexion, with the fresh ' and vigorous aspect of health, formed for society and pleasure, which he loved, the best ' and the most accessible of men, free of vanity, ' yet not without dignity of demeanour. Imagination was not his fort. What is better, he ' had good sense, was willing to learn, and always distinguished the solid from the specious. ' He was a lover of truth and justice, and whatever injured religion, gave him excessive pain, ' although his devotion was not in the extreme.'

The Duke
of Berry.

The Duke of Berry was not without firmness. He hated constraint; and in his earlier years, it was feared that he might not prove so pliable a character as a third son of the Royal Family of France could be wished. So much pains was of consequence taken to repress his fallies, that he became timid and bashful. His Governors and Preceptors sought to repress his natural genius,

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nius, and substitute science in its stead. But they succeeded only so far as to impress him with a disgust for study and reading; a disgust, which like that of the Dauphin, whose favourite son he was, remained with him through life. ‘ He also resembled his father, in being afraid of the very look of the King, when in the smallest degree serious, and whenever he talked to him of any other thing but play or the chase.’

Two Princesses aspired to the hand of the Duke of Berry, for their daughters; the Dutchess of Bourbon, and the Dutchess of Orleans. The former was on the very best terms with the Dauphin, the latter with Madame de Maintenon, to whom she paid her court more assiduously than her sister. Some predilection was indeed necessary to turn the scale in the favour of the Princess her daughter. ‘ Mademoiselle of Orleans was prematurely a woman; and her father, who viewed her charms with high admiration, particularly her hand, which was faultlessly beautiful, treated her with an idolatrous tenderness, and frequently admitted her to make the third person in the company, when he was amusing himself with his mistress. He had her picture drawn one day almost naked; and, about that, there was much malicious talk.

‘ Bad as was this education, the young Princess restrained her natural propensities so well
 ‘ for

‘ for two years before her marriage, that no- PART III.
‘ thing was talked of to Madame de Maintenon, 1710-11.
‘ but her modest propriety of behaviour. The
‘ Dutchess of Orleans, who was eager for the
‘ marriage, and saw well that she would ne-
‘ ver succeed while her daughter remained at
‘ Paris or St Cloud, in her father’s hands, made
‘ her come to herself to Versailles. Mademoi-
‘ selle, persuaded that her fortune depended on
‘ her conduct, carefully concealed her natural
‘ inclinations. And even some time before she
‘ came to Versailles, nearly at the age of twelve,
‘ finding herself grow too plump, and fearing
‘ that her way of life, if continued, might dis-
‘ appoint the views which her parents had for
‘ her, she restrained herself to eat and sleep
‘ little, and take a great deal of exercise, al-
‘ though she was naturally gluttonous and indo-
‘ lent. It must be allowed, that a girl capable
‘ at that age of such resolution, from the mere
‘ motive of ambition, uninfluenced by the au-
‘ thority of those who had power over her, was
‘ likely to become one day dangerous.

‘ The married pair began like other young
‘ couples who are joined when very young and
‘ novices in the world. The Prince was exces-
‘ sively in love ; and this with his natural mild-
‘ ness and complaisance, would have infallibly had
‘ the effect to spoil her, if nature and education
‘ had not done that already. On the very next
‘ day after her marriage, she shewed herself

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‘ haughty, passionate, and careless of pleasing.
 ‘ Her husband afterwards found that she had
 ‘ no mutual tenderness for him. She despised
 ‘ him, because she had more wit than he, and
 ‘ had a pleasure in making him feel that. She
 ‘ did all that she could to leave him no religion.
 ‘ On fast days, which though he did not love,
 ‘ he faithfully observed, she would rally and
 ‘ teaze him, till she sometimes, though seldom,
 ‘ forced him to violate the fast, weak as he was,
 ‘ and too easily affected by her pointed raillery.
 ‘ And as he never ventured upon any such vio-
 ‘ lation without remorse and scruples, she used
 ‘ to direct her raillery to mortify him doubly
 ‘ on his scruples. His love of equity suffered
 ‘ no less from the flagrant acts of injustice
 ‘ which she did his servants, whom she made
 ‘ him dismiss whenever she thought proper,
 ‘ without suffering him to utter a word against
 ‘ those of hers, whom she retained, however
 ‘ worthless their characters. The Dutchess of
 ‘ Burgundy had flattered herself that this mar-
 ‘ riage, to which she had contributed, would
 ‘ prove a great happiness to her. But the
 ‘ Dutchess of Berry left no art untried, to pro-
 ‘ duce a quarrel between her husband and the
 ‘ Duke of Burgundy, whose decisive advice and
 ‘ ascendancy over his mind, she no doubt feared.
 ‘ She did not succeed; the two brothers conti-
 ‘ nued always to live in the most friendly inti-
 ‘ macy.’

At

At the same time, while Lewis established the posterity of the legitimated Princesses in so advantageous a manner, he applied himself to exalt the dignity of the Princes by new honours, and to bring them nearer and nearer those who were lawfully born. ‘ A sentiment of compassion
 ‘ made him look with a very different eye upon
 ‘ those of his children who were allied to the throne
 ‘ by both father and mother, and those who
 ‘ were related to it only through himself. The
 ‘ former he regarded as the children of the State,
 ‘ great of themselves, even without his notice.
 ‘ The latter he cherished as unfortunate persons,
 ‘ who removed as they were from the Throne
 ‘ by law, could be nothing, save through his
 ‘ power. His pride and tenderness combined
 ‘ in their favour. To raise them, as it were
 ‘ from nothing, was a sort of creation, the idea
 ‘ of which flattered him, and determined him
 ‘ to confer a new favour on the Duke of
 ‘ Maine.’

The Monarch had, in the year 1694, given him, and his brother, the Count of Toulouse, a right to the precedence above the other Peers. ‘ On the 15th of March 1710, after supper, and
 ‘ after giving the usual orders, Lewis, retiring
 ‘ gravely into his closet, and turning about before his chair, without sitting down, looked
 ‘ slowly round the company present, and without addressing any particular person, said,
 “ I confer upon the children of the Duke of

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Rank conferred on the Duke of Maine's children.

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“ Maine, the same rank and honours which the
 “ Duke himself enjoys;’ and immediately walk-
 “ ing to the other end of the room, he called to
 “ him the Dauphin and the Duke of Burgundy.
 “ Here that haughty arbitrary Monarch, for the
 “ first time in his life, humbled himself before
 “ his son and grandson, ‘ As you are both to
 “ succeed me on the Throne,’ said he, ‘ I en-
 “ treat you preserve to the children of the
 “ Duke of Maine, the rank which I have now
 “ conferred upon them. Grant this to the ten-
 “ derness which I flatter myself you feel for me,
 “ and to the affection with which I regard those
 “ children, and their father and mother. Old
 “ as I am, and sensible that my death can be at
 “ no great distance, I recommend this concern
 “ to you with the utmost earnestness, and hope
 “ that your respect for my memory, will induce
 “ you to attend to it.’

‘ The two Princes, somewhat softened by this
 ‘ address, stood close together, fixed in astonish-
 ‘ ment, with their eyes on the ground, and made
 ‘ no reply. The King, wishing to force an an-
 ‘ swer from them, called the Duke of Maine, as
 ‘ he was walking through the room where all
 ‘ was in profound silence, and taking him by
 ‘ the shoulders, to make him bow before the
 ‘ Princes, repeated, that from their natural
 ‘ goodness of heart, he expected them to protect
 ‘ *him* after his death, and asked their answer.
 ‘ The Princes now looked on each other like
 ‘ persons

persons who doubted whether they were
dreaming or awake, and still kept silence. Yet,
at his reiterated instances, they stammered out
some words of no precise meaning. The
Duke of Maine, uneasy at their confusion and
silence, bowed to embrace their knees. Lewis
now, with tears in his eyes, entreated his chil-
dren to embrace him in his presence, and by
this expression of friendship, to assure him of
their consent. He continued to ask their word
of honour, that they would not divest his chil-
dren of the rank which he had conferred upon
them. The two Princes, with increasing con-
fusion, again uttered some words implying no
obligation, and the King returned to his
chair.

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He was no sooner seated, than observing a
gloom diffused among the company, he again
returned to the subject of the newly conferred
rank, and mentioned that he would be very
well pleased to hear every person present ex-
press his satisfaction by complimenting the
Duke of Maine. All rose and congratulated
the Prince: The King ordered the Grand
Master of the Ceremonies to register the pro-
motion, and the scene closed.

The Dauphin disliked the Duke of Maine,
because in their infancy he had not shewn
him due respect, but had used freedoms in
which he was rather encouraged by the King's
fondness. The Duke of Burgundy was also

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' somewhat jealous of the favour enjoyed by
 ' this beloved son, and therefore unwilling to
 ' see *his* children raised to an equality with his
 ' own. Neither dissembled their sentiments.
 ' A sullen silence indicated the public dissatis-
 ' faction ; none said a word openly ; but reflec-
 ' tion and censure were liberally circulated in
 ' whispers. However, as it was understood that
 ' his Majesty wished the Duke of Maine to re-
 ' ceive the congratulations of the Court, not one
 ' durst neglect to pay his compliments. They
 ' crowded about him with a gravity of face, and
 ' a degree of distant ceremony, which seemed
 ' more like doing penance, or making an un-
 ' willing apology, than paying a compliment.
 ' I,' says St Simon, ' was but newly restored to
 ' his Majesty's favour ; and the King, when he
 ' deigned to remove his displeasure, had ex-
 ' horted me in a friendly manner, to be more
 ' moderate in future in my zeal to maintain the
 ' privileges of the Peerage. Yet, the rights of
 ' that order were grossly injured ; for the King
 ' had raised to a superiority over the Peers, per-
 ' sons who owed that dignity merely to his
 ' pleasure. I reflected, however, that by not
 ' going to congratulate the Duke and the
 ' Dutchess of Maine, I should neither degrade
 ' their rank, nor damp their joy, but might en-
 ' tirely ruin myself. I determined, therefore,
 ' to swallow this pill, bitter as it was. I pre-
 ' sented myself, paid my respects, and turned
 ' my

‘ my back abruptly. The crowd was so great,
‘ that they scarce knew to whom to listen. Some
‘ were pressing in, others hastening out, and I
‘ slipped off in the throng.

‘ Fear and a spirit of flattery tempted us to
‘ wait, next, on the Count of Toulouse. The
‘ same reasons which had carried me to the
‘ Duke of Maine’s, induced me to go also there.
‘ I found him not; but I asked M. d’O to let
‘ him know that I had been there to pay my
‘ compliments. ‘ To pay your compliments!’
‘ replied M. d’O, with his usual coolness and
‘ solemnity. ‘ To be sure,’ said I; ‘ what has
“ been done for the Duke of Maine, regards al-
“ so the Count of Toulouse so nearly, that it
“ would be improper not to express to him what
“ one feels on the occasion.’ ‘ Compliments!’
‘ repeated M. d’O; ‘ because the Count of Tou-
“ louse is to rank next after the children of the
“ Duke of Maine?’ ‘ I suppose,’ returned I,
“ the Count of Toulouse will gain enough by
“ this, to make him consent readily to rank im-
“ mediately after his nephews.’ ‘ Sir,’ replied
‘ he, looking on me like a man making a solemn
‘ declaration, ‘ I assure you the Count of Tou-
“ louse has no share whatever in what the Duke
“ of Maine has obtained; he asks nothing for
“ the children he may have; content with
“ what he already enjoys, he pretends to no-
“ thing more.’ I learned, in fact, within a few
‘ days, that the Duke of Maine having men-

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‘ tioned his design to his brother, the Count of
 ‘ Toulouse was so far from giving it his approba-
 ‘ tion, that he did every thing in his power to
 ‘ make him lay it aside. And the affair actu-
 ‘ ally produced a coolness between the two
 ‘ brothers.

‘ People soon broke through that silence
 ‘ which sat so uneasy upon them. After the
 ‘ sentiments of the Dauphin and the Duke of
 ‘ Burgundy became known, others were less
 ‘ afraid of expressing their dissatisfaction, while
 ‘ they only imitated them. The King was too
 ‘ anxious to learn even the silliest trifles that
 ‘ passed, not to know what was said on this oc-
 ‘ casion. He was ashamed and uneasy; and
 ‘ Madame de Maintenon, whose influence had
 ‘ determined him to it, saw him within a very
 ‘ little of retracting what he had done. The
 ‘ Duke and Dutchess of Maine, and all their
 ‘ partisans, were afraid. They endeavoured to
 ‘ raise a counter-battery, by magnifying his
 ‘ Majesty’s power, and representing to him, that,
 ‘ as every one had shewn an eagerness to obey
 ‘ him, all were unanimous in respect to what he
 ‘ had done, and that the applauses of the public
 ‘ were a proof of their satisfaction. This gene-
 ‘ ral submission, the devotion of a servile Court,
 ‘ attacked the weak side of Lewis. Nothing flat-
 ‘ tered him like implicit obedience. By availing
 ‘ themselves of this, they soon made him at a
 ‘ loss which to give credit to,—the congratula-
 ‘ tions,

‘ tions, or the murmurs of dissatisfaction ; and PART III.
‘ he left things as they were.’ 1710-II.

The advice which St Simon mentions his having received from Lewis, respected his zeal in defence of the privileges of the Peerage ; and he appears to have shewn himself on all occasions the champion of that order. He was ill pleased to observe the title of Marshal of France preferred to that of Duke and Peer ; and remarks, as a novelty of which he could not approve, that a Nobleman of the name of Duras, on being vested with the dignity of Marshal, gave up to his son the title of Duke, ‘ prouder,’ says St Simon, ‘ of a transient dignity, and of an office under the Crown, which the flattering suggestions of self-love persuaded him he had acquired by his own merit, than of the honours of an hereditary rank.’

The Duke de St Simon disapproves equally of the subjection of Gentlemen to the tribunal of the Marshals of France, which he alleges was not established till about the middle of this reign. With respect to the army and military operations, he allows them very extensive power over Dukes and Peers, and even over Princes of the Blood. In other matters, he refuses them any jurisdiction ; and he recites at great length, and seemingly with great satisfaction, the adventure of two Lords, who, when summoned before this tribunal, not only neglected to compear, but even used the Officers ill, without being subjected to
any

PART III. any punishment. Lewis only ordered the recusants, by *lettres de cachet*, to appear before three Marshals of France, whom he named his Commissioners, not to judge, but to reconcile them. Yet, had St Simon been prepossessed with fewer prejudices in favour of his order, he would surely have seen the advantages of a Court, established to repress intemperate courage, when it slighted the bounds of duty. A small degree of indulgence, too, for a father, enfeebled and depressed by age and misfortunes, might have hindered him from censuring, with such asperity, the kindness of Lewis to the children of a favourite son.

1711.
Dauphin's
death.

On the 14th of April 1711, died the Dauphin, of a short illness. The King lamented him as a respectful son, a pattern of docility and obedience. He having had, for some time, a share in the administration, the nation were grieved to see those hopes frustrated which his good intentions had led them to conceive. Many of the Courtiers were not ill pleased to be relieved from that perplexity in which they found themselves between the father and the son, while they durst scarce strive to please the one for fear of disobliging the other.

Mademoi-
selle Choin.

The Dauphin died as he had lived, without discovering great concern for others. ‘ He was
‘ not known to have had any natural children,
‘ except one daughter by an actress. Her he
‘ brought up moderately enough among the
‘ Augustine

' Augustine nuns of Chaillot. The Princess of
 ' Conti took care of her after his death, and
 ' married her to a Gentleman; but she died
 ' without leaving children. Among his papers
 ' there was no disposition found in favour of
 ' Mademoiselle Choin. He had, to be sure, ta-
 ' ken her at her word, in a generous denial
 ' which she once gave to his offers of a settle-
 ' ment; whereas he should rather have answered
 ' that denial by a more liberal deed than what he
 ' had at first intended. As he was at one time set-
 ' ting out for the army, he made a will, in which
 ' he bequeathed her a very considerable proper-
 ' ty. She was much affected with this proof of
 ' his friendship, but protested, that if she was so
 ' unfortunate as to survive him, a thousand
 ' crowns a-year, which she had saved out of what
 ' his favour had already bestowed upon her,
 ' would be a sufficient income, nor would she
 ' rest till the will was thrown into the fire. Ma-
 ' demoiselle Choin kept her word, and with a
 ' pension of ten thousand livres, which the King
 ' granted her unasked, lived at Paris to a very
 ' advanced age, in solitary retirement, yet not
 ' insensible to the ingratitude with which cer-
 ' tain noblemen whom she had obliged, entirely
 ' neglected her.'

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St Simon mentions among others, the Mar-
 quis, since Marshal d'Uxelles. ' In the æra of
 ' her power she had regarded him with great
 ' partiality, and recommended him to the Dau-
 ' phin,

Marshal
 d'Uxelles.

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‘ phin, as a man of the greatest abilities for
 ‘ business of all kinds. He expressed his grati-
 ‘ tude for her patronage, by little acts, which,
 ‘ however, as soon as the Dauphin was dead, he
 ‘ ceased to pay *. Although she knew well the
 ‘ manners of the Court, she could not forbear
 ‘ mentioning the ingratitude of a man on whose
 ‘ friendship she had imagined she might depend,
 ‘ as he knew well his obligations to her, for the
 ‘ esteem and confidence which the Dauphin
 ‘ shewed him. The Marquis, to whom her cha-
 ‘ grin was made known, gave himself very little
 ‘ concern. He answered coldly, that he knew
 ‘ not what she meant; he had seen her but very
 ‘ seldom, and merely as a general acquaintance.
 ‘ And as to the Dauphin, he was scarce
 ‘ known to him. D’Uxelles, like others, did
 ‘ not chuse to remember an acquaintance from
 ‘ which he could receive no service.

Division of
 the cabal of
 Meudon.

The death of the Dauphin broke the cabal
 of Meudon. It had been, for some time, de-
 clining. ‘ The Prince of Vaudemont, its lead-
 ‘ er, had entirely lost his credit: Since the Prin-
 ‘ ces of Lorraine, his relations, had begun to shew

‘ a

* ‘ Mademoiselle Choin had a little dog, of whom she was
 ‘ very fond. The Marquis every day sent her from one end
 ‘ of Paris to the other, heads of roasted rabbits, to gratify the
 ‘ palate of the favourite, and used himself often to visit the
 ‘ mistress, by whom he was heard as an oracle. Next day,
 ‘ after the Dauphin’s death, no more heads, or visits.’ *St*
Simon.

‘ a decided partiality for the house of Austria, PART III.
 ‘ Torcy had no confidence in him: Voisin re- 1711.
 ‘ turned his eager advances with cold politeness.
 ‘ With the other Ministers he had no inter-
 ‘ course; and none but the slightest attentions
 ‘ passed between him and the Dukes of Beauvil-
 ‘ liers and Chevreuse, the confidents of the
 ‘ Duke of Burgundy. All his consequence a-
 ‘ rose, therefore, from the all-powerful influence
 ‘ of his nieces Lillebonne on the Dauphin.
 ‘ —When this link was dissolved, he knew not
 ‘ where to turn himself.

‘ One of his nieces had married M. d’Epinoy.
 ‘ When the mother of a family, she learned
 ‘ more flexibility, and began to court the patron-
 ‘ age of Madame de Maintenon, by revealing
 ‘ the secrets of the cabal. Trusting to this, she
 ‘ thought herself under no necessity of retiring
 ‘ from Court. But the other, accustomed to
 ‘ sway, and too haughty to act an under part on
 ‘ a theatre, where she had so long reigned, and,
 ‘ besides, too sure of the mortifying situation in
 ‘ which she must find herself with the Dutchess
 ‘ of Burgundy, whom she had disobliged, resol-
 ‘ ved to retire for a time with her uncle. They
 ‘ went to pass the summer in Lorraine, as well
 ‘ to avoid the first confusion, as to afford them-
 ‘ selves time to form a new plan of conduct.
 ‘ Luckily the small-pox carried off at once se-
 ‘ veral of the Dutchess of Lorraine’s children;
 ‘ and, among others, a daughter seven or eight
 ‘ years

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‘ years old, who had a short while before been
 ‘ chosen Abbess of Remiremont. Such an
 ‘ establishment appeared to the uncle and the
 ‘ niece like a plank in a shipwreck. It was a
 ‘ noble and honourable situation for an old un-
 ‘ married lady ; a respectable retirement, which
 ‘ would impose no restraint ; a sort of country-
 ‘ house, when she chose to go to it, yet not
 ‘ requiring constant residence, nor render-
 ‘ ing it necessary to bid a final adieu to Paris
 ‘ and the Court ; and yet affording a pre-
 ‘ text for retirement, with an annual reve-
 ‘ nue of forty thousand livres, which might ful-
 ‘ ly compensate the loss that she had suffered by
 ‘ the Dauphin’s death. She had only to make
 ‘ known her wish, and was immediately elect-
 ‘ ed.’

The rest of the society was dispersed. The King’s two daughters, who had been much attached to the Dauphin their brother, retired each to a life suited to her turn of mind.—‘ The
 ‘ Princess of Conti, rather of a grave and seri-
 ‘ ous character, formed a circle of persons of a
 ‘ mild amiable temper, like herself, within
 ‘ which she almost entirely confined her inter-
 ‘ course. The Dutchess of Bourbon was, at
 ‘ first, overpowered with grief. She saw herself
 ‘ on ill terms with Madame de Maintenon, at
 ‘ open and irreconcilable variance with the new
 ‘ Dauphiness, not less divided from her brother
 ‘ the Duke of Maine, and her sister, the Dut-
 ‘ chess of Orleans. At law with her husband’s
 ‘ family,

‘ family,—and none to support her but a son of
 ‘ eighteen, and two daughters approaching that
 ‘ age, who began to slight her authority, from
 ‘ the licence which she had allowed them, while
 ‘ her other children were still infants: She saw
 ‘ herself now reduced to lament the loss of her
 ‘ father-in-law and her husband, whose death
 ‘ had been such a relief to her; yet, not being
 ‘ formed for a life of sorrow, she sought to dissi-
 ‘ pate her melancholy, first by amusements, and
 ‘ soon after, by engaging in a career of pleasure.
 ‘ With the help of the Marquis de Laffay, she
 ‘ thus diverted and forgot her sorrows. She re-
 ‘ posed her confidence in him, and after more
 ‘ than thirty years,’ said St Simon in 1744,
 ‘ the intimacy still subsists.’

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The loss of the Dauphin was no other way
 felt at Court, except so far as he had been a re-
 source to those who suffered any disgusts from the
 King. Among them St Simon numbers Marshal
 Boufflers, ‘ who found consolation with him un-
 ‘ der the coolness, or worse than coolness, which
 ‘ the King had uniformly shewn him, since he
 ‘ asked the Constable’s sword.’ Yet while he
 ascribes to the Marshal such aspiring ambi-
 tion, he does justice to his abilities, his cou-
 rage, and his candid probity. None, indeed,
 ever enjoyed a fairer or better earned reputa-
 tion. He died this year, after a languishing ill-
 ness of some months. And there can be no su-
 rer

Death of
 Boufflers.

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rer proof of the esteem in which he was universally held, than what Madame de Maintenon writes: ' Every one boasts of his concern for the death of Marshal Boufflers. A thousand praises are bestowed on him. In this region, even truth is uttered with a hollow heart !' She pronounces his funeral oration in a single phrase, when she adds, ' His noble heart was the last part to submit to the stroke of death.'

As a relief from the impression of such melancholy images, which will return upon us but too frequently, and with still more force, it will possibly not be disagreeable to observe to what consolation this Lady had recourse, amid the loss of friends, and the *tædium* of greatness. A letter written from Fontainebleau, to a lady of St Cyr, might serve as the ground-work of a fine pastoral. ' I am just arrived,' says she, ' from Avon ; I intended to spend one hour there, and I have staid three. I have been making visits from door to door. I have not seen such agreeable company since my return to Court ; I ask pardon of the ladies of St Lewis ; but they still retain about them somewhat of the manners of the Great World, and are less alert and less simple than Geoffroy and Payen. Our schoolmaster, Mathurin Roch, cannot be reconciled to my ignorance, nor I to his knowledge. He knows all that I attempt to explain. He reads all from Canisius to Belarmine, and would have my poor children, profound

“ profound divines. They tell me, that Ma-
 “ thurin, in my absence, never says a word of
 “ what I have taught them. He wishes to
 “ make them more knowing, yet they seem not
 “ to me to profit by his lessons. Frances longs
 “ to be married ; but she can neither obtain the
 “ consent of her relations, nor get the better of
 “ her passion. Sufanna says, she no longer sees
 “ her best beloved. Yes, I should be sorry to
 “ lose my good people of Avon. Nothing about
 “ them gives me uneasiness, but their misery.
 “ With them I find integrity, good sense, truth,
 “ and honour. They don’t speak so well as we,
 “ but we don’t act so well as they. I received a
 “ letter yesterday, in which they mentioned,
 “ that they were alarmed for the health of the
 “ King, and for my health, on account of the
 “ mortality among the cattle.”

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Lewis XIV. seems to have treated his grand-
 son with greater familiarity after the death of
 his son. He began to give him open cogni-
 fance of public business, and a remarkable
 change was produced on the Prince’s manners.
 ‘ Hitherto he had been timid, reserved, and
 ‘ bashful, with the air of a stranger, in his own
 ‘ house ; no less disagreeable by his punctilious
 ‘ virtue, than by the imprudent application of
 ‘ his knowledge, by which he undesignedly
 ‘ made himself appear censorious. It was this

Excellent
 qualities of
 the Duke
 of Burgun-
 dy.

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‘ fault

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‘ fault which gave his father a dislike to him,
 ‘ and sometimes disgusted even the King *.

‘ I shall mention one of a thousand instances,’
 continues St Simon, ‘ an instance in which
 ‘ his conduct, though regulated by the best of
 ‘ principles, put the King in a passion, and dis-
 ‘ gusted the whole Court. Lewis XIV. being
 ‘ at Marly, had given leave for a ball on
 ‘ Twelfth night eve, and sent notice to the
 ‘ Duke of Burgundy, who refused to come. The
 ‘ King spoke of it to him, first by way of plea-
 ‘ santry, afterwards more seriously, and with
 ‘ the appearance of being mortified to find his
 ‘ conduct condemned by his grandson. The
 ‘ Dutchess of Burgundy, her ladies, and even
 ‘ the Duke de Beauvilliers, all joined to obtain
 ‘ this piece of complaisance, but in vain. ‘ The
 “ King is master, replied he, ‘ I presume not to
 “ blame what he does ; but Epiphany is too so-
 “ lemn a festival for me to profane it with a di-
 “ version which I can scarce endure at any
 “ time.’ It was to no purpose to represent to
 ‘ him, that having appropriated the morning
 ‘ and the afternoon to the services of the
 ‘ Church, he both might and should, were it
 ‘ only out of deference and respect, spend the
 ‘ evening as his grandfather and Sovereign de-
 ‘ fired. He remained inflexible, and, except
 ‘ during

* Madame relates, that Madame de Maintenon did every thing in her power to hurt the Duke of Burgundy with the King, that his complaints of his wife might not be believed, &c. *Fragments*, t. I. p. 85.

‘ during supper, spent the whole evening alone
‘ in his closet.

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‘ With this austerity, he had acquired in his
‘ education a habit of minute precision, which
‘ distinguished him on all occasions. In the
‘ Court, he was like a man in pain for the loss
‘ of time, and impatient to retire from company,
‘ that he might employ it better. It must be
‘ allowed too, that the mortifications which he
‘ suffered from his father’s courtiers, and auda-
‘ cious cabal, whose interested views prompted
‘ them to represent his reserve and regularity of
‘ manners in colours of ridicule, contributed
‘ not a little to impress him with that timidity
‘ which made him flee to his closet as the only
‘ place where he could be at ease and liberty.’

St Simon assigns another reason for the seclusion
to which the Prince condemned himself; a rea-
son which renders his conduct very excusable,
if an apology were at all necessary: ‘ Finding
‘ in himself a strong propensity to pleasure, and
‘ great frailty in resisting temptation, he sought
‘ to avoid all opportunities by sequestration from
‘ the world.

‘ People were therefore much surprised to see
‘ him come abroad and appear in the world,
‘ with freedom and gaiety, and hold his Court
‘ in the grand hall of Marly, courteous and ma-
‘ jestic like the Divinity of the Temple, recei-
‘ ving the homage of mortals with gracious be-
‘ nignity, and shedding his beneficent influence

His reputa-
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all around. The chace became, by degrees, only a momentary topic. Courtiers of judgment were charmed with a conversation in which sprightliness and instruction was combined, and which was addressed to select persons. The Prince introduced facts from history, so naturally, that they seemed to rise up of themselves, and blended these with digressions to the Arts and Sciences, so that the whole together opened at once the eyes, the ears, and the hearts of all about Court. The Dauphin became at last another Prince of Conti. The desire of paying court to him, was with many not so much a desire to appear before him, whenever he was visible, as to derive from his conversation instruction, adorned and rendered interesting by a soft and natural eloquence. With this pleasure was connected the desirable prospect of serving a master, so well accomplished for the rank which he was to hold, by knowledge of all kinds, and by the use which he promised to make of it; who was courteous, obliging, attentive to rank, to birth, to age, to the accomplishments and turn of each individual: Things which had long been little regarded.

Accordingly, it is incredible with what amazing rapidity the sentiments of the public were carried to the highest pitch of admiration, love, and esteem, towards him, and with what eagerness they laid aside the false notions
with

‘ with which they had been prepossessed. People
 ‘ could not conceal their joy, but universally
 ‘ asked one another, if this were the same man ?
 ‘ if what they saw was a dream or a reality ! The
 ‘ Dukes of Beauvilliers and Chevreuse, to whom
 ‘ these questions were chiefly addressed, replied,
 ‘ that their surprise was owing to their not ha-
 ‘ ving previously known the Prince’s character.
 ‘ But we, added they, we find him just such as
 ‘ we always thought him. The time is now ar-
 ‘ rived for his character to be displayed to
 ‘ others in its true colours : But he appears
 ‘ none other than he always was ; this justice
 ‘ will be done him, when continued observa-
 ‘ tion shall have made him better known.

‘ From the Court to Paris, and from Paris,
 ‘ through the provinces, his praises were circu-
 ‘ lated with the utmost rapidity. Those who
 ‘ were most attached to him, found their suc-
 ‘ cess beyond what they could have expected.
 ‘ Yet it was not owing entirely to the wondrous
 ‘ powers of the Prince. The state of circum-
 ‘ stances contributed much. He had been de-
 ‘ pressed by a cabal who outrageously decried
 ‘ his character, and raised the public voice
 ‘ against him : his wrongs were now suddenly
 ‘ redressed ; and this instantaneous contrast be-
 ‘ tween the opinion which had prevailed, and
 ‘ that which was now formed, was the occasion
 ‘ of the general joy. Personal interest had, no
 ‘ doubt, some share. The nation were charmed

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‘ to see a dawn arise, which promised order and
 ‘ happiness, after so much confusion, and so
 ‘ many calamities. Madame de Maintenon,
 ‘ charmed with those applauses, out of her
 ‘ friendship for the Dauphiness, and pleased to
 ‘ have a Dauphin, on whom she might reckon
 ‘ as a friend, instead of another who disliked
 ‘ her, went entirely into his interests, and, of
 ‘ consequence, gave him full influence over the
 ‘ King. She instructed him how to conduct
 ‘ himself towards the Monarch ; to display more
 ‘ than ordinary respect and submission, and more
 ‘ officious assiduity as a courtier. These atten-
 ‘ tions, with the skilful address of his wife, who
 ‘ was in the greatest intimacy with the grand-
 ‘ father, produced, at the very first, an amazing
 ‘ change in the conduct of Lewis XIV. He,
 ‘ who with his son had always maintained the
 ‘ reserve and majesty of the Monarch, became
 ‘ to his grandson, a father,—a tender father.

Chevreuse
 and Beau-
 villiers,

‘ When this extraordinary change of the scene
 ‘ took place, only two persons appeared in a situa-
 ‘ tion to avail themselves of it, the Dukes of
 ‘ Beauvilliers and Chevreuse, and the Archbi-
 ‘ shop of Cambray, placed at a remote distance.
 ‘ Beauvilliers, an intimate friend and brother-
 ‘ in-law to Chevreuse, had introduced him to
 ‘ the Dauphin, and had long accustomed his
 ‘ pupil to view him with the same respect as
 ‘ himself. The pliability and mildness natural
 ‘ to Chevreuse, his knowledge, and mode of ex-
 ‘ pression,

‘ preſſion, the elegance of his converſation, and
 ‘ his grand, though rather romantic, views,—
 ‘ were qualities extremely well calculated to
 ‘ gain the confidence of the Prince. Beauvilliers
 ‘ made uſe of him to inſinuate things, which he
 ‘ thought, might come better from his brother-
 ‘ in-law, than from himſelf. Whatever was pro-
 ‘ poſed by either, was ſtill upon the ſame prin-
 ‘ ciples, and with the ſame views; in the two
 ‘ the Prince had but one director. Chevreuſe
 ‘ could ſay what he thought reſpecting his con-
 ‘ duct, without diſobliging him. He had the
 ‘ art of ſoftening the ſeverity of his remonſtran-
 ‘ ces, by ſcience, religion, and hiſtory. Yet ſtill
 ‘ the chief place in the confidence, friendſhip,
 ‘ and reſpect of the young Prince, was enjoyed
 ‘ by the Duke de Beauvilliers. We may be
 ‘ ſure that thoſe two noblemen would not ſuffer
 ‘ the Prince to cool in his affection to the Arch-
 ‘ biſhop of Cambray, their friend and oracle.

‘ All about Court immediately cringed and
 ‘ ſmiled before the two Dukes. But the Cour-
 ‘ tiers ſoon perceived, that they had not to do
 ‘ with thoſe upſtart miniſters, who being raiſed
 ‘ in an inſtant from the duſt, and placed at the
 ‘ helm of the State, are equally ignorant of the
 ‘ management of intrigues and of buſineſs;—
 ‘ who, intoxicated by pride, and rendered giddy
 ‘ by the incenſe of flattery, are incapable to reſiſt
 ‘ the arts of ſycophants, and fooliſhly attribute
 ‘ to their own merit, what they owe merely to

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‘ the prostitution of favour. Beauvilliers and
 ‘ Chevreuse, without changing the modesty of
 ‘ their deportment, or their plan of life, only
 ‘ strove to avoid, as far as possible, stumbling
 ‘ on the difficulties in their way. They kept
 ‘ by those friends, whose fidelity they knew
 ‘ from experience, and only endeavoured to
 ‘ make the Dauphin display his natural charac-
 ‘ ter, without seeming to direct or lead him.

‘ They neglected not to recommend them-
 ‘ selves to the Dauphiness, whose difference of
 ‘ dispositions and conduct had given her an
 ‘ aversion to them. Their virtue, which be-
 ‘ cause she saw only the outside, appeared to
 ‘ her too severe, awed her. She dreaded their
 ‘ influence on her husband. And while she
 ‘ was afraid of their officious advice, I have seen
 ‘ them at great pains,’ says St Simon, ‘ to conceal
 ‘ any thing that might set the husband and the
 ‘ wife at variance.’ This writer boasts loudly
 of his own intimacy with the two dukes and
 their families; and, to make a full display of
 the importance of that connection, draws a pa-
 rallel between the regard which they shewed
 him, and that with which they treated their re-
 lation the Duke de Charost, giving himself the
 advantage.

Charost and
 St Simon.

‘ Son to Madame de Bethune, and the fa-
 ‘ vourite disciple of M. de Guyon, he inheri-
 ‘ ted from his mother strict probity, and
 ‘ high honour. He had mixed much with the
 ‘ Great

Great World, and had an understanding calculated for that intercourse, but ill adapted to business. He was entirely uninstructed in any thing, even in religion, except in the tenets of the little flock to which he belonged. He was, perhaps, the only man, who, through his whole life, joined a public profession of piety, with an intimacy with the libertines of his time. They all eagerly cultivated his acquaintance, on account of the gay pleasantries of his conversation, and endeavoured as much as possible, to engage him in all their parties, which were free of debauchery. On these occasions they never once presumed to ridicule in him practices so contrary to their own. The ardour of his constitution gave him passions which were restrained by the rein of piety. He subdued them by efforts which were often a subject of merriment among us.

I never sought admission into the little flock to which he belonged. This was being greatly inferior to him in the eyes of Beauvilliers and Chevreuse: Yet with him they confined themselves to the confidence of the sect, while I enjoyed their entire confidence in what regarded the State, the Court, and the behaviour of the Dauphin. Their religious secrets they never mentioned to me, but they opened their hearts, in respect to their admiration of M. de Cambray, their desire of his return, and the means they took to accomplish that. Of
this

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‘ this they conversed freely in my presence,—
 ‘ and I was the only uninitiated person in whom
 ‘ they had so much confidence. Charost some-
 ‘ times took notice, that they treated him with
 ‘ reserve, and complained of it ; but I never ob-
 ‘ served, that they were more open with him
 ‘ for his complaints, while from me they con-
 ‘ cealed nothing, consulting me in every
 ‘ thing.

‘ I have often reflected, what could be the
 ‘ reason of the distinction which they made be-
 ‘ tween me, a profane person, and him, a zea-
 ‘ lous adept ; an accomplishment so important
 ‘ in the eyes of all the party ; and I have found
 ‘ it was owing to the difference of our conduct.
 ‘ Charost, as I have already mentioned, was ve-
 ‘ ry much a man of the world, curious, and in-
 ‘ quisitive, but not deep ; to the play of the
 ‘ machines, and the mystery of intrigue, he was
 ‘ always a stranger. I again applied to these ve-
 ‘ ry things, and would patiently trace through
 ‘ an affair, step by step, till I had unravelled
 ‘ the whole. I was assisted in my researches by
 ‘ Madame de St Simon, who herself possessed
 ‘ great prudence and sagacity. By these means
 ‘ I was often able to give the two Dukes infor-
 ‘ mation of things of the utmost consequence,
 ‘ and so little obvious to observation, that they
 ‘ often could not think them real, till after the
 ‘ events. Yet they always took their measures
 ‘ upon my information, and were obliged to me
 ‘ for

' for not being taken unawares. Thus an inti- PART III.
 ' macy was formed between us, the more solid, 1711.
 ' because not being generally known, it was
 ' not exposed to those insidious arts, by which,
 ' in such cases, envy generally strives to create a
 ' misunderstanding. It was with the highest sa-
 ' tisfaction that I found myself on such inti-
 ' mate terms with men who were about to make
 ' so eminent a figure under the young Dauphin;
 ' but the higher my satisfaction, with so much
 ' the more caution did I regulate my exterior
 ' deportment, and so much the more careful
 ' was I to conduct myself with due circum-
 ' spection.

' As the Elder Dauphin died in April,
 ' spring, the season for mustering the armies,
 ' shewed evidently enough at Cambray, what a
 ' change had happened at Court. That town
 ' became the great thoroughfare from Flanders.
 ' All the people of quality, and others of inferi-
 ' or note who served there, passed that way, and
 ' stopped as long as possible at Cambray. The
 ' Archbishop had so thronged a court, that,
 ' amid his joy, he was uneasy for fear of the
 ' King's resentment. It is easy to conceive,
 ' with what affability and discernment he would
 ' receive the assiduities now paid him, and how
 ' much those who had before cultivated his
 ' good graces in their journeys into Flanders,
 ' would value themselves on their foresight.
 ' These things actually made a great noise. But
 ' the

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‘ the Prelate conducted himself so prudently,
 ‘ that the King and Madame de Maintenon took
 ‘ no notice, and wished to seem entirely igno-
 ‘ rant of them. With respect to the Dukes of
 ‘ Chevreuse and Beauvilliers, Lewis had long
 ‘ loved and esteemed them, and had confided in
 ‘ them, even in cases in which he could not
 ‘ trust to his own discernment, and could not,
 ‘ therefore, be displeased at the new conse-
 ‘ quence which they now acquired, either be-
 ‘ cause it did not strike him, which can hardly
 ‘ be thought ; or, because his good opinion of
 ‘ them, was too firmly rooted, to be shaken.’

It was Marshal Villars who commanded in Flanders. The campaign of 1711, did him no honour at Court : St Simon, and possibly the public before they were better informed, speaks of his conduct in the following language :
 ‘ Villars covered Bouchain, almost the last place
 ‘ on our frontier, an important pass which com-
 ‘ mands the head of the rivers, and serves as the
 ‘ key to an extensive country. The enemy
 ‘ could not lay siege to it, without first facing
 ‘ our army, at the hazard of being attacked in
 ‘ flank, and routed in passing the Escout. This,
 ‘ however, they dared. Villars, who paid his
 ‘ spies ill, did not receive early enough notice.
 ‘ They had already passed the river. He fol-
 ‘ lowed, and was eager to repair the oversight
 ‘ which he could not deny that he had commit-
 ‘ ted. But, on arriving in a fine plain, in
 ‘ which,

‘ which, by the advice of all his officers, he
 ‘ should have attacked the enemy, after all the
 ‘ dispositions for battle were made, he ordered
 ‘ his army to encamp. His coolness, the diffi-
 ‘ culties which he raised, and his embarrassed
 ‘ replies, surprised the whole army. They were
 ‘ animated with an ardent courage, which ex-
 ‘ pressed itself in shouts, and resembled the an-
 ‘ cient heroism of the French. Remonstrances
 ‘ were renewed, and urged even with vehe-
 ‘ mence. Villars remained inflexible. In an-
 ‘ swer to all their arguments, he boasted of his
 ‘ courage, of which nobody doubted, blustered,
 ‘ and gave them hopes for to-morrow. The
 ‘ army passed the night under arms ; but next
 ‘ day was too late : The enemy were now beyond
 ‘ their reach. They owed their safety to the
 ‘ uncommon caution of Villars, to which his
 ‘ motive was never known.

‘ He had sent information to the Court, of the
 ‘ prospect of a battle, and they were for four
 ‘ days in a state of anxious expectation. At
 ‘ last arrived a courier, who was conducted by
 ‘ M. Voisin to the King, just as his Majesty was
 ‘ retiring to rest. The Dauphin, though alrea-
 ‘ dy undressed, came back. They were in the
 ‘ utmost solicitude till the minister opened the
 ‘ dispatches, and learned that there had been
 ‘ no battle. They were next informed of the
 ‘ debates of the army, the vexation with which
 ‘ the General had seen the enemy escape, and
 ‘ his

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‘ his having uttered expressions of dissatisfaction,
 ‘ which the officers had considered as directed
 ‘ against themselves. Marshal Montesquieu, in
 ‘ particular, thought himself personally injured.
 ‘ He spoke his mind freely, and asserted blunt-
 ‘ ly to the General, that *he* alone had hindered
 ‘ an engagement. To this bold truth Villars
 ‘ instantly replied, by giving him the direct lie.
 ‘ Montesquieu stormed, turned his back, put his
 ‘ hand to his sword, and went out. The whole
 ‘ army was for him. A duel between the two
 ‘ Marshals was expected to be the consequence:
 ‘ But persons of prudence interfered. They
 ‘ represented to Montesquieu, that, however
 ‘ disagreeable his situation, he behoved to sacri-
 ‘ fice his resentment to the public weal; espe-
 ‘ cially as his character for courage was so com-
 ‘ pletely established, that his forbearance could
 ‘ not bring upon him any contumelious impu-
 ‘ tation. He listened to them; and, without
 ‘ requiring any explanation, appeared next day,
 ‘ for an instant, in Villars’s presence, and they
 ‘ came, by degrees, to see each other, as usual.’

I have thought it necessary to exhibit these particulars relative to both the Court and the army, somewhat in detail, to shew, that the conduct of Generals is sometimes judged and condemned, without a candid enquiry into its merits*. St Simon says, that ‘the motive of Villars’s coolness could never be discovered.’ This was

* Henault.—Reboulet.—D’Avrigny.—Life of Villars.

was enough to make him suspend his judgment: But it has since come to be known; and the conduct of the Marshal was highly praise-worthy, 'when,' to use the words of d'Avrigny, 'notwithstanding his sensibility to censure, he bore the indignation of the whole army, and the fear of public disapprobation, with unshaken firmness. The King, who was on the point of obtaining peace, wished nothing to be attempted that might change the favourable dispositions of the Queen of England, and would not risk a battle, which would probably have no other consequence but the loss of a great many lives.' Villars likewise explains his own conduct in these words: 'Seeing the enemy ready to offer battle, I determined to take them at their offer. I wrote to the King to that purpose, on the 14th, the 15th, and the 16th of June, and caused a dozen bridges to be thrown over the Scarpe, that I might be ready to begin the attack, whenever my messengers returned. But the King wrote me on the 17th, that he did not think it proper to hazard a battle, because he saw reason to hope for a division among the hostile powers, which would weaken their strength, and that he would have me to await without attempting any thing, but to maintain the lines, which we at present occupied. Madame de Maintenon wrote me to the same purpose, in language adapted to soothe me under the mortification.' This accounts for the

inconsistencies

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inconsistencies of which the Marshal was accused. Feeling all the cogency of the reasons which his officers urged for a battle, yet restrained by positive orders from yielding to them, and, confined to silence, he could express his chagrin only by monosyllables and sullen silence. The consequence of Lewis's timid circumspection, was the capture of Bouchain, notwithstanding the exertions of Ravignan, who had imprudently thrown himself into it.

Ravignan.

He had been made prisoner at Tournay, and dismissed on his word of honour, in order ' to
 ' get himself exchanged. He found difficulties
 ' in negotiating his deliverance; and, becoming
 ' weary of remaining unemployed, wrote to the
 ' Duke of Marlborough, laying before him the
 ' disagreeableness of his situation, as there was
 ' no way for him to make his fortune but by
 ' war, and he could not now avail himself of
 ' that. The Duke generously granted him per-
 ' mission to return to the service; letting him
 ' know at the same time, that he could answer
 ' only for the English, not for the Dutch or the
 ' Imperialists. With this permission Ravignan
 ' was employed, wherever there was reason to
 ' think he would not be exposed to those whom
 ' he had to fear: And as a man of abilities was
 ' needed in Bouchain during the summer, and
 ' no apprehension entertained of its being be-
 ' sieged, he was placed there as governor. When
 ' the place was attacked, it became a doubt,
 ' whether

' whether Ravignan should be suffered to re- PART III.
 ' main in it.—He came to the French army, 1711.
 ' while communication was still open between
 ' the army and the town, and expressed such
 ' unwillingness to quit the place, when the ene-
 ' my were within sight, and laying siege to it,
 ' that Villars permitted him to return, since he
 ' chose to run the risk. Ravignan accordingly
 ' flew back to the town, and made a very long
 ' and vigorous defence, but was at length obli-
 ' ged to surrender, with his garrison, prisoners
 ' of war. He was, as the proverb says, more
 ' lucky than wise. The enemy, when they
 ' made sure of the garrison, were so generous as
 ' not to take any particular notice of the Gover-
 ' nor.' It was talked at that time, that Villars,
 in his concern for having suffered the enemy to
 make so easy an attack on so important a place,
 made no difficulty of exposing a brave officer to
 such danger, in the idea, that the conquest would
 be harder, when the desperate valour of the
 commander was confirmed by the prospect of a
 gallows*.

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Thus

* St Simon relates an instance of courage in a Spanish of-
 ficer, on better motives than those of Ravignan. ' At the
 ' attack of Brichuega in Spain, the Duke of Vendome was
 ' twice repulled. At the third attack, Count Estevan de
 ' Gormas, Captain-General of Andalusia, advanced with his
 ' grenadiers into the fore-front. The commander, sur-
 ' prised to see so distinguished a man march with him, re-
 ' presented to him how much that post was beneath him.
 ' De Gormas coldly replied: " I know what you have to
 " say,

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Thus did envy defame this General; every thing that had any tendency to tarnish his glory, was assiduously propagated and eagerly believed. It is true, that if Villars had so little moderation in success, as St Simon represents, he drew those mortifications upon himself; but St Simon surely exaggerates circumstances. Had Villars been such a boaster, he must have been ridiculous *. ‘This son of fortune,’ says he, ‘on his return to Paris, after the battle of Malplaquet, received the Court there, as well as in his apartments at Versailles. Nothing but a continued round of diversions, feasts, and entertainments,—generally with the King’s band of music. He acted the hero of a romance, spoke in scraps from plays, and talked with such surprising confidence, that he often rendered the company about him at a loss what to answer. He was constantly making foolish lies. He kept himself under no constraint. ‘The

“ say, but the Marquis de Ville my father has long been a
“ prisoner with the Imperialists, and they inhumanly con-
“ fined him in fetters, and refused to hear of a ransom. Now,
“ there are in Brichuega, several general officers, Imperialists
“ and English. I am resolved to take them, and either have
“ my father exchanged, or them put to death.’ De Gormas
‘ with his detachment performed wonders of valour, took,
‘ with his own hand, several of those general officers, and
‘ soon after obtained his father’s exchange.’ *St Simon*, t. 3.
P. 35.

* A friend of mine tells me, that he has observed in Villars’s hotel, *rue de Greneille Fauxbourg St Germain*, the inscription, *Mars restitutor, vindex, pacifer*. It remained till the new proprietor had occasion to make repairs.

‘ The couch on which he reclined, might have been mistaken for a mountebank’s stage.

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‘ Madame de Maintenon went at certain hours to see him. As she was one day caring his son, six or eight years of age, whom she found with him, ‘ Your kindness will spoil him, Madam,’ said the Marshal. Then assuming an air of gaiety, ‘ The sons of heroes,’ added he, ‘ soon accustom themselves to the favours of great queens.’ A thousand fallies, not less strong; a thousand hints, how much the Government had to fear, either in peace or war from him, passed with the multitude for charming flights of gaiety and humour; but people of penetration looked on him as a madman broke loose from confinement; or, at least, as a man intoxicated with flattery and praise. He was thought necessary,—or, rather the sole resource of the State: Hence, things which would have given insufferable disgust in another, were in him viewed only as slight imperfections. The Ministers consulted him. He decided upon projects and arrangements. Neglects, disgrace, or fortune, were dealt out to the people of the army, through his hands.’

This state of glory was, however, obscured by a cloud, the shades of which he found it difficult to disperse. ‘ He had caused his letters of peerage to be drawn out by his brother-in-law, the President de Maisons. He inserted

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‘ whatever the Marshal desired concerning his
 ‘ services ; and particularly, that had not he
 ‘ been wounded, the battle of Malplaquet must
 ‘ have been gained ; an observation equally in-
 ‘ jurious to truth, and to the reputation of Mar-
 ‘ shal Boufflers. The Chancellor, to whom the
 ‘ letters were carried to be sealed, refused the
 ‘ seal, and informed Boufflers. He, feeling
 ‘ himself deeply injured, attacked Villars
 ‘ publicly in the most outrageous manner. He
 ‘ spoke of it to all the world ; and, though
 ‘ in general so prudent, and so timid in respect
 ‘ to the King, kept within no bounds. He de-
 ‘ clared, that he would oppose the registration
 ‘ of the letters, and complain to the King,
 ‘ from whom if he should not obtain justice,
 ‘ he would appeal to the Parliament, and to the
 ‘ Peers in full assembly, and would himself plead
 ‘ his cause before them.

‘ It was long since so bold a proposal had
 ‘ been heard of : Accordingly it raised a
 ‘ strange noise, and Lewis durst not refuse to so
 ‘ illustrious a character, the justice which he
 ‘ demanded. Villars, however lofty, durst not
 ‘ venture, on this occasion, to contend with
 ‘ Boufflers. He disavowed what he had caused
 ‘ to be inserted in his letters ; and, to conceal
 ‘ the King’s order, he presented them to Bouf-
 ‘ flers, to erase what he thought proper ; and
 ‘ what he erased was suppressed. In the mean
 ‘ time, Villars lavished in public a profusion of
 ‘ praises

' praises upon Boufflers, and sent him messages, PART III.
 ' expressive of homage and submission. After
 ' such humiliation, Boufflers was at length pre-
 ' vailed with to wait upon Villars, who was still
 ' unable to go abroad. He was received with
 ' profound respect, the expressions of which he
 ' heard with the dignity of a master receiving a
 ' tribute from an inferior. From the whole of
 ' this business, there arose a hatred between the
 ' two, which the blunt honesty of Boufflers
 ' prompted him to express sometimes in strong
 ' enough language, and which Villars, to avoid
 ' embarrassing the King, confined within his
 ' own breast.'

It was observed, that when the whole Court,
 on the arrival of the courier from Marshal Vil-
 lars, assembled in the King's apartment, to learn
 the news of the battle, the Dauphin was among
 the number. It may thence be conjectured,
 that the orders sent by Lewis to avoid a battle,
 had not been communicated to him; and, 'of
 consequence, that he was not yet in full posses-
 sion of his grandfather's confidence: But he
 soon acquired it. The Monarch, who had for
 some time made trial of him, was charmed to
 find in him a maturity of understanding, and a
 comprehension of mind, that qualified him to re-
 lieve *himself* of the fatigues of government.

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 The Dau-
 phin called
 to govern.

St Simon says, that it was at the persuasion of
 Madame de Maintenon, who was dissatisfied
 with the ascendancy which the Ministers now

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assumed over his imbecillity, that Lewis resolved to throw the weight of government upon the Dauphin. ‘ They enjoyed the most absolute power, and reigned with sovereign authority under the King’s name, to which they, at times, even dared to substitute their own. Those despots were irresistible. They had assumed the right of doing and undoing, of raising and abasing, of giving consideration, and taking it away, of distributing rewards and punishments at pleasure, and terminating all, by saying, ‘ Such is the King’s pleasure.’ None of them had any thing to fear ; for they had mutually agreed to confine themselves, each to his own department : And had any, even of those Courtiers who enjoyed the highest credit, presumed to complain against them or their families, they would all have joined to make exemplary victims of their daring accusers. They were of consequence at full liberty to communicate, to conceal, or to misrepresent things as they thought proper. They were kings in authority ; and they affected the state and magnificence of ‘ kings. Their pride was at this height, when the King, one morning, took his grandson into his closet, and, after a pretty long conference with him there, directed the Ministers who waited upon him, to wait upon the Dauphin, and give him an account of their affairs, whenever he should send for them, and to go, even uninvited, to
 ‘ inform

‘ inform him of the progress of such pieces of **PART III.**
 ‘ business as they should begin under his direc- 1711-12.
 ‘ tion.

‘ It is no easy matter to produce such an His beha-
 ‘ alarm and bustle as were excited at Court, by viour to the
 ‘ an order so directly contradictory to the taste, Ministers.
 ‘ the character, and the habits of Lewis XIV.
 ‘ An order which at least consigned into the hands
 ‘ of the Dauphin the disposal of all affairs! It was
 ‘ like a thunderbolt to the Ministers. They could
 ‘ not conceal their surprise and confusion. They
 ‘ saw between the King and them, an active
 ‘ Prince, of a clear understanding, and who had
 ‘ sometimes shewn, in the Council, that he
 ‘ knew their business as well as they themselves.
 ‘ The Dauphin was indeed good and indulgent.
 ‘ But he loved order, possessed exquisite pene-
 ‘ tration, and was not afraid of the labour ne-
 ‘ cessary to unravel intricate affairs, or to search
 ‘ to the bottom of such as were deep. It was
 ‘ known, that deeds, not words, were necessary
 ‘ to satisfy him; that good was uniformly his
 ‘ object, and that he examined all at the bar of
 ‘ his conscience. They could not flatter them-
 ‘ selves with the hope of imposing upon him;
 ‘ because he gave very assiduous application,
 ‘ and was accustomed to observe, to compare,
 ‘ and to be cautious either in relying on his
 ‘ own judgment, or in confiding in others. He
 ‘ was on his guard against surprise, curious, easy
 ‘ of access, and anxious to lay open every
 P 4 ‘ channel

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‘ channel through which truth might reach his
 ‘ ear.

‘ These qualities gave the Ministers the greater
 ‘ alarm, because they were sensible that as the
 ‘ Dauphin ‘enjoyed the King’s ear, he must en-
 ‘ joy it at all seasons ; and it was easy to see,
 ‘ that the idea which he might now form of
 ‘ them would determine their fate, when he
 ‘ should become master. They would have
 ‘ wished to set some bounds to such extensive
 ‘ authority. But the King had explained him-
 ‘ self so positively, that after triumphing in so
 ‘ haughty a manner over others, they had no-
 ‘ thing to do but, in their turn, to bend their
 ‘ shoulders under the yoke. They went all,
 ‘ therefore, like so many people under sentence
 ‘ of death, to make, to the Dauphin, feigned
 ‘ professions of ready obedience, and eager joy.
 ‘ The Prince easily detected what they were at
 ‘ pains to conceal. He, however, received them
 ‘ with apparent kindness and respect, enquired
 ‘ into their hours of business, in order that he
 ‘ might suit himself, as much as possible, to their
 ‘ convenience ; and from that instant, laid down
 ‘ rules of assiduity and regularity, to which he
 ‘ firmly adhered.’

His con-
 duct to-
 wards the
 King.

The Dauphin was nearly thirty years of age
 when he began this career, which was short, but
 honourable and useful. It might be proposed as
 a model to those Princes, who being within one
 step of the Throne, have more need of circum-
 spection

'specification than other subjects. 'He redoubled his
 'application to business, deprived himself of the
 'amusements of science, and divided his time
 'in his closet, between the duties of religion,
 'whose portion he now abridged, and the cares
 'of government. In the hours which he gave
 'to company, he was attentive to make himself
 'beloved, particularly respectful and obliging
 'to Madame de Maintenon. The higher the
 'King exalted him, the greater submission and
 'respect did he show to his grandfather.
 'Through his moderation, no desire of higher
 'elevation, no self-conceit, no presumption was
 'apparent. Impenetrably secret, his confidence
 'in his Confessor never extended to business.
 'It is not known, whether he would have carried
 'his intimacy with M. de Cambray farther. He
 'would perhaps have limited it, as with Mes-
 'sieurs de Beauvilliers and Chevreuse. It is
 'certain, that he consulted them commonly on
 'affairs great and small, on his public as well as
 'domestic concerns. But there were things
 'which he never mentioned to them, and
 'others of which he only dropped some hints.
 'In my conversations with the two Dukes, a-
 'bout what passed in the private conferences,
 'which they procured me with the Prince,
 'they have sometimes been surprised to hear
 'me repeat things which they assured me had
 'never been mentioned to them, even in the
 'hours of the most unreserved communication.

' This

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His know-
ledge of
characters.

‘ This may be viewed as an unquestionable
 ‘ proof that his confidence was never carried
 ‘ beyond a certain length, and that he never
 ‘ adopted the sentiments of others in that unli-
 ‘ mited manner which is often ruinous at once
 ‘ to Kings and to their subjects *.’

The same author describes at considerable
 length, the manner in which the Dauphin stu-
 died the characters of those about him. He
 marked their actions, their words, and even
 their silence. ‘ On general topics he spoke
 ‘ freely, but on particulars was reserved. When
 ‘ he wished to obtain a thorough knowledge of
 ‘ any person whom he proposed to employ, to
 ‘ judge of his talents and his capacity, he
 ‘ would engage him in conversation, and turn it
 ‘ upon so many topics, persons and things, that
 ‘ it was not possible for him to disguise his real
 ‘ character. It would have been vain to make
 ‘ a previous preparation of replies to his que-
 ‘ stions. He deranged the order of things in
 ‘ your mind by his digressions, which often con-
 ‘ tained the chief things that he intended to
 ‘ mention. He would return to his subject,
 ‘ and again wander from it; from serious con-
 ‘ versation he would pass to pleasantry; so that
 ‘ you knew not when you left him, whether his
 ‘ purpose had been to draw information, or
 ‘ merely entertainment from you. He did not
 ‘ suffer

* St Simon, t. 3. p. 183.

‘ suffer even the time spent in walking to be
 ‘ lost. He talked to those who attended him
 ‘ in his walks, of naval and military affairs, for-
 ‘ tifications, the interests of Princes, topics from
 ‘ history, commerce, industry, with a great va-
 ‘ riety of other rational and useful subjects of
 ‘ conversation. This was almost all the recrea-
 ‘ tion that he allowed himself. For, though he
 ‘ had once played deep, and indulged in the
 ‘ pleasures of the table, he now restrained him-
 ‘ self in both; and to avoid losing time, absent-
 ‘ ed himself as much as possible from the theatre
 ‘ and other public places of amusement.

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St Simon mentions also several of the prin-
 ciples by which he proposed to regulate his ad-
 ministration, which are worthy of being pre-
 served. ‘ The resolution which he formed of
 ‘ not preferring piety to abilities in the appoint-
 ‘ ment of Ambassadors, Judges, and other ser-
 ‘ vants to the Crown, was truly a victory over
 ‘ prejudice. For he became at last persuaded,
 ‘ that even without much religion, a person
 ‘ may be qualified for many affairs; and that,
 ‘ besides, to give the preference too generally to
 ‘ professions of piety, would be running the risk
 ‘ of making many hypocrites. He could not
 ‘ think the office of Master of Requests necessary
 ‘ in the government of the State. He thought
 ‘ it very absurd to put the government of the
 ‘ Provinces into the hands of young Magistrates
 ‘ in that character, with an authority more ab-
 ‘ solute

The maxims
of govern-
ment.

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‘ solute than had ever been intrusted to Govern-
‘ ors themselves.

‘ It would be tedious to relate his sentiments
‘ of the abuses of the bar, the chicanery of law-
‘ yers, the enormous expence and the endless
‘ length of processes. He often discovered a
‘ degree of impatience at the existence of such
‘ abuses; from which it was clear, that he in-
‘ tended to reform them as soon as the Sove-
‘ reign power came into his hands. The op-
‘ pressive weight of the taxes, and the excessive
‘ number of Collectors of all sorts, he proposed
‘ to remedy by Conventions of the Estates; ob-
‘ serving, that where the Government was re-
‘ gulated by these, the people were happier than
‘ in other countries. He intended to divide the
‘ kingdom into so many equal parts, the govern-
‘ ment of each of which should be in the hands
‘ of its own members, and out of the Provincial
‘ Assemblies, to form occasionally a States-Ge-
‘ neral. Far from fearing a body which might
‘ become formidable, he was delighted with the
‘ prospect of being, as it were, in the bosom of
‘ the nation, encircled with faithful and en-
‘ lightened subjects, who, by their wise counsels
‘ might concur with him to promote the happi-
‘ ness of the nation.

‘ To excite greater emulation among the No-
‘ bility, he intended to create new intermediate
‘ degrees of rank, and titles between those of
‘ Baron and Marquis, and that of Duke, from
‘ which

‘ which persons might rise gradually as they PART III.
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 ‘ distinguished themselves by illustrious actions,
 ‘ or by long continued service. It was also his
 ‘ purpose to establish other gradations of rank
 ‘ in the army, particularly between the office of
 ‘ Lieutenant-General, and that of Marshal of
 ‘ France. He wished the Cross of St Lewis to
 ‘ be seldomer conferred, and the Order of St Mi-
 ‘ chael to be exalted; as also, that certain marks
 ‘ of distinction were adopted to indicate the
 ‘ rank and title of each, and that such honours
 ‘ should be for life, but never hereditary. Even
 ‘ the son of a Duke would thus have been only
 ‘ a plain gentleman, and would have risen to
 ‘ his father’s honours by a merited and gradual
 ‘ promotion.

‘ In his Court, he wished to see about him
 ‘ Noblemen of tried probity and valour, on
 ‘ whom he would have conferred only for life,
 ‘ the titles of the ancient offices of the kingdom;
 ‘ and on others already decorated with titles,
 ‘ but inferior in rank, would he have conferred
 ‘ the titles of other less eminent offices, as they
 ‘ earned them by their merits. He wished that
 ‘ the honour of approaching his Sovereign’s per-
 ‘ son, should never be granted but as a reward
 ‘ to a Frenchman; and that no gratifications
 ‘ and pensions should be bestowed, but what
 ‘ were absolutely necessary; any thing more ha-
 ‘ ving no other effects but to add new keenness
 ‘ to avarice, and to encourage luxury. He
 ‘ shewed

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‘ reign power came into his hands. The op-
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‘ number of Collectors of all sorts, he proposed
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‘ gulated by these, the people were happier than
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‘ kingdom into so many equal parts, the govern-
‘ ment of each of which should be in the hands
‘ of its own members, and out of the Provincial
‘ Assemblies, to form occasionally a States-Ge-
‘ neral. Far from fearing a body which might
‘ become formidable, he was delighted with the
‘ prospect of being, as it were, in the bosom of
‘ the nation, encircled with faithful and en-
‘ lightened subjects, who, by their wise counsels
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‘ which persons might rise gradually as they distinguished themselves by illustrious actions, or by long continued service. It was also his purpose to establish other gradations of rank in the army, particularly between the office of Lieutenant-General, and that of Marshal of France. He wished the Cross of St Lewis to be seldomer conferred, and the Order of St Michael to be exalted; as also, that certain marks of distinction were adopted to indicate the rank and title of each, and that such honours should be for life, but never hereditary. Even the son of a Duke would thus have been only a plain gentleman, and would have risen to his father’s honours by a merited and gradual promotion.

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‘ shewed

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‘ shewed himself, that he was far from making
 ‘ greatness to consist in magnificence. He re-
 ‘ fused to have his apartments new gilded, be-
 ‘ cause it must have been at the expence of the
 ‘ people; and in a season of distress, instead of
 ‘ sumptuous furniture that was intended for him,
 ‘ he received the value in money, and distribu-
 ‘ ted it among the poor. This conduct, and
 ‘ these designs of the Dauphin’s, originated from
 ‘ a principle, which in any other reign than his,
 ‘ with which God did not see fit to bless the
 ‘ nation, would be regarded at Court as tremen-
 ‘ dous blasphemy; ‘ *That Kings are made for*
 ‘ *their subjects, not subjects for their Monarchs;*
 ‘ a great and sacred truth which he ventured to
 ‘ utter, even in the presence of Lewis XIV. who
 ‘ heard it without being disoblighd *.’

The con-
 duct of the
 Dauphine’s

The Dauphin by his solid, and the Dau-
 phine’s by her amiable accomplishments, appear
 to have acquired the privilege of saying what
 they pleased in the presence of the two old peo-
 ple. The following reflection of the Princess,
 had perhaps something malicious in it. They
 were talking of the peace which was beginning
 to be negociated by the prudence of Queen
 Anne: ‘ Aunt,’ said she to Madame de Main-
 tenon, ‘ In England, it must be allowed, Queens
 ‘ govern better than Kings. Do you know
 ‘ why? The reason is, that under Kings, the
 ‘ women

* St Simon, t. 3. p. 264.

‘ women govern ; but under Queens, the
‘ men *.’

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Adelaide had not yet lost the sprightly graces that adorned her childhood ; but these were now mellowed by a mixture of seriousness suitable to the age of twenty-six. ‘ Never was
‘ Princess, coming so young into a foreign Court,
‘ better accomplished at the time of her appearance there. Her father and mother, both
‘ persons of great sagacity, and thoroughly acquainted with the French Court, had been at
‘ great pains to teach their daughter how to
‘ make herself happy there. The natural genius of the Princess rendered their endeavours
‘ successful. From the very first, she made herself well with the King and Madame de Maintenon, and neglected nothing to preserve their
‘ good graces, even at the expence of her own inclinations and health. Her submissive attention to them was unexampled. She regulated all by a discretion which she learned by
‘ studying their characters, suited her gaiety to
‘ circumstances, and thus acquired greater freedom of familiarity than any even of Lewis’s
‘ favourite children.

‘ In public, she was serious, respectable, and
‘ distant to the King ; to Madame de Maintenon, polite and obliging, calling her always
‘ by the name of Aunt. In private, she was
‘ gay, childish, and fluttering about them. She
‘ would

* St Simon, t. 3. p. 138.

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‘ would sometimes seat herself on the arms of
 ‘ their chairs, sometimes play upon their knees,
 ‘ embrace, caress, tease them, rummage their
 ‘ desks, seize their papers, open their letters,
 ‘ read them sometimes, when she saw them dis-
 ‘ posed to laugh, in spite of them, give her ad-
 ‘ vice without being asked, and break in upon
 ‘ the King at any time, even when in council.

‘ Lewis XIV. could not be without her. E-
 ‘ very thing was wrong, when she was detain-
 ‘ ed from him by any party of pleasure; in
 ‘ which, however, he wished her to engage, as
 ‘ he was persuaded that she needed such relaxa-
 ‘ tions. Whenever she was absent from supper,
 ‘ the old man was invariably silent and serious,
 ‘ and a general gloom prevailed. Accord-
 ‘ ingly, the Dauphiness always enjoyed such enter-
 ‘ tainments with great moderation. After re-
 ‘ tiring, she always took care to see the King;
 ‘ and whenever any ball, or any expedition in-
 ‘ to the country in summer, kept her up all
 ‘ night, she constantly ordered matters so as to
 ‘ see the King, and entertain him with the
 ‘ news, before going to bed. Even when lying
 ‘ in, or otherwise indisposed, she would abridge
 ‘ the confinement, and the course of medicines
 ‘ which her health required, that she might not
 ‘ be wanted at Marly, or elsewhere, when she
 ‘ knew her absence or delay would give uneasi-
 ‘ ness to the King. ‘ And it is not to be sup-
 ‘ posed,’ says Madame de Caylus, ‘ that she af-
 ‘ fected

“ fectcd for the King and Madame de Mainte- PART III.
 “ non a degree of tenderness which ſhe did not 1711-12.
 “ really feel. At leaſt I, who have had the
 “ honour of ſeeing her with them, cannot think
 “ ſo. I have ſeen her weep, with ſuch appa-
 “ rent ſincerity, at the thought that thoſe two
 “ perſons were, in the courſe of nature, to die
 “ before her, that I cannot once doubt of the
 “ reality of her attachment to them.’

‘ Her politeneſs was not confined to the Mo-
 ‘ narch, but extended to all perſons about her,
 ‘ according to their rank. From this natural
 ‘ diſpoſition to pleaſe, though lively and frank,
 ‘ ſhe was at the ſame time circumſpect, from
 ‘ the fear of ſaying or doing any thing that
 ‘ might give offence. As deep play might have
 ‘ had an ill effect on her temper, ſhe confined
 ‘ herſelf, notwithstanding her propenſity to it,
 ‘ to petty ſums. Loſe or gain, ſhe was always
 ‘ in good humour, ready, quick, and able to
 ‘ reckon for every body, at a moment’s warn-
 ‘ ing. The Dauphineſs was fond of public
 ‘ ſhews, was the ſoul of entertainments, and
 ‘ charmed every eye by the grace and finiſhed
 ‘ perfection of her dancing. This was almoſt
 ‘ the only one of the graces of her early youth
 ‘ that ſhe ſtill retained. Her features were by
 ‘ no means improved. Her brow was too high,
 ‘ her cheeks too full, and her noſe added no
 ‘ expreſſion to her countenance. Her teeth
 ‘ were either loſt or decaying, her lips thick.

Characters
of the Dau-
phin and
Dauphineſs

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‘ But her hair and eye-brows were very fine ;
 ‘ her eyes were beautiful, and full of expres-
 ‘ sion ; her complexion glowing, her neck long,
 ‘ with some appearance of swelling on her
 ‘ throat, which, however, did her no harm.
 ‘ She had a majestic carriage of the head, the
 ‘ figure of a Nymph, and a sprightliness of mo-
 ‘ tion, by which she appeared almost every
 ‘ where at once.’

Her husband had not sacrificed to the Graces,
 like her. ‘ Besides the natural cast of his tem-
 ‘ per, which would not have been easily sub-
 ‘ dued to mildness and patience, there were de-
 ‘ fects in his countenance and figure, which it
 ‘ was not easy to view, without some degree of
 ‘ dislike. He spoke and laughed awkwardly ;
 ‘ for his upper teeth stood out over the under,
 ‘ and produced a grin. He halted in walking ;
 ‘ one of his shoulders being thicker and heavier
 ‘ than the other, made him always lose his ba-
 ‘ lance, and move with uneven steps. What
 ‘ is surprising, notwithstanding his sincere piety,
 ‘ this Prince was apt to be much hurt by any
 ‘ thing bearing the least allusion to the awk-
 ‘ wardness of his figure. This weakness of his
 ‘ rendered it necessary for all who approached
 ‘ him, to be very cautious in their words. It
 ‘ was not a little troublesome to his servants to
 ‘ dress his hair so as to conceal the defect, and
 ‘ even to impose upon him, by saying, that the
 ‘ inequality of his shoulders was not so obser-
 ‘ vable

‘ vable as that he needed to be anyway un-
 ‘ easy about it. In other respects, he was ra-
 ‘ ther little, of a dark complexion, his brow
 ‘ broad and high, and the lower part of his face
 ‘ rather sharp; but his air, on the whole, grave
 ‘ and dignified. He communicated every fif-
 ‘ teen days at the holy table, with a degree of
 ‘ humility and reverence, which impressed be-
 ‘ holders with awe. The Dauphiness, though
 ‘ less devout, was as strict in the discharge of
 ‘ the duties of religion. Besides her assiduous
 ‘ attendance on the ordinances of the church,
 ‘ she cheerfully spent the afternoons in listen-
 ‘ ing to passages from religious books, in the
 ‘ company of those whom she called *her serious*
 ‘ *ladies*. In business, her capacity was some-
 ‘ times observed to be very useful to her hus-
 ‘ band. He was passionately fond of her. She
 ‘ regarded him rather with esteem, than with
 ‘ the tenderness of love.’

I shall conclude this account of the husband
 and the wife, with a very remarkable fall of
 the Princess, and an enquiry into the justice of
 a censure to which she has been subjected.
 ‘ Talking with the Ladies de Nogaret and de
 ‘ Chatelet on the surprising good luck of Made-
 ‘ moiselle Choin and Madame de Maintenon,
 ‘ interrupting them, and bursting into a fit of
 ‘ laughter, ‘ I must confess,’ said she, ‘ this fa-
 ‘ mily make strange marriages. I should wish,
 “ for my part, to die before the Dauphin: Yet

PART III. " I should like to know what will happen after
 1711-12. " I'm dead. I'm sure he'll marry either one of
 " the gray sisters or a nun of St Mary's." What
 renders this sally important, is, that from it we
 may conclude that the Dauphiness, at least, was
 convinced of the reality of the two marriages ;
 and she could not be convinced without having
 indubitable proofs.

The account of the frailty with which she
 has been blamed, I shall quote, word for word,
 from the 'Recollections of Madame de Caylus.'
 ' Two men have been mentioned,' says that
 Lady, ' for whom the Dauphiness is said to have
 ' had a predilection. In favour of the first,
 ' Count Maulevrier, there was no appearance
 ' whatever. Nangis is the other. I must con-
 ' fess that, with respect to him, I cannot help
 ' believing with the public. Only, I doubt
 ' whether the affair was carried to such a length
 ' as has been pretended. I am persuaded this
 ' intrigue never went farther than looks, and
 ' perhaps some letters. This I believe for two
 ' reasons : The Dauphiness was very cautious,
 ' and Nangis was too much in love with a wo-
 ' man by whom he was narrowly observed ; and
 ' has herself told me, that when he was be-
 ' lieved to be with the Dauphiness, she was as-
 ' sured of the contrary, because he was with
 ' her. It was rather gallantry than passion, that
 ' took place between them.'

People

People may think what they please of this justification, which acquits the Princess rather of guilt than of suspicion. St Simon informs us of the circumstances which gave rise to an opinion so unfavourable to the Dauphiness. It was her choice of persons to attend her, when Madame de Maintenon left her to her own directions. Her account nearly agrees with Madame de Caylus, as above quoted. 'There were many faults, into which she was seduced by others. But the greatest fault of which I have known her guilty, was her being too easy, and allowing the young people about her too much influence over her. And this embarrassed her in some difficulties rather injurious to her reputation.' The Duke does not represent her errors as owing merely to the youth of her confidants. 'The Dauphiness,' says he, 'suffered old *demireps*, who pretended repentance, to come too much about her. Their romantic turn of mind was still gallant; at least, if the frailty of age rendered them incapable of any thing more, the loose conversation with which they entertained her, when undressing, ensnared her mind. But her delicacy and remaining modesty prevented her from yielding entirely to their suggestions. It is true, however, that the seduction went a certain length; and had the Princess been less generally beloved, not to say adored, she might have found herself in a difficult enough

PART III.
1711-12.

PART III. ‘situation.’ So true is it, that the Great need
1711-12. to be no less cautious than others in forming connections.

The errors of the Princess may have been exaggerated by her enemies. It is impossible to be amiable to all the world. The old partisans of the cabal of Meudon were still against her. Even in her own family, she was exposed to the malicious observations of envy. St Simon relates an incident in the conduct of the Dutches of Bourbon and the Princess of Conti, which must have been produced by jealousy. ‘The Dauphiness, one evening, after prattling in several different languages, and playing a number of childish tricks, to amuse the King, observed her two sisters-in-law making signs, and shrugging their shoulders, by way of contemptuous pity. When the King went out, taking the Ladies de St Simon and de Levi aside, she said to them with great indignation, “Did you observe their gestures? I know as well as they that there is not common sense in what I have said and done; but the King must have noise, and things to divert him.” Then, leaning on the shoulders of those Ladies, and turning and leaping round them, she sung the chorus, *Je m’en ris, Je m’en moque*. The Ladies, in much confusion, begged her to be silent, for the Princesses heard; but the more they insisted, the louder she repeated, ‘I laugh at them; what else should I do? I shall
“ be

‘ be their Queen, and they will have to reckon
‘ with me.’ ‘ Ah !’ cries St Simon, ‘ she thought
‘ so ; the charming Princess ! and who then
‘ thought otherwise ? It pleased God to punish
‘ us, by disposing of her otherwise.

PART III.

‘ On Friday the 5th of February, the Dau-
‘ phiness was, in the evening, seized with a
‘ shivering, which continued all night, ceased
‘ on Saturday, returned in the evening, conti-
‘ nued through the night, and was moderate on
‘ Sunday. About six in the evening, she felt a
‘ pain under her temple, which affected only
‘ about the breadth of a small piece of money,
‘ but was so violent that the pangs of child-
‘ bearing, she said, were nothing to it. The
‘ fever increased, and continued unabated on
‘ Monday. On Monday night, and through
‘ all Tuesday, she was exceedingly drowsy, and
‘ never awoke above a few minutes at once, her
‘ head was heavy, and a few spots appeared on
‘ her skin, which were regarded as favourable
‘ symptoms, as it was thought that the disease
‘ might be the measles, then prevalent at Ver-
‘ sailles. The King began to be very uneasy.
‘ He came often to her bed-side, and felt her
‘ pulse. On Wednesday the 10th, a puke was
‘ administered, which operated very copiously,
‘ but gave no ease, and the spots on the skin dis-
‘ appeared. The Dauphin, who never stirred
‘ from the bed-side, was now forced down into
‘ the gardens, to take the air. He was greatly

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Illness and
death of the
Dauphin
and Dau-
phinets.

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‘ in need of it, but his uneasiness brought him
 ‘ instantly back. On Thursday the 11th, the
 ‘ Princess was thought so ill, that it was judged
 ‘ proper to mention the sacraments to her.

‘ She was much surprised, and put a variety
 ‘ of questions, to which they answered in a man-
 ‘ ner as little alarming as possible, but still with-
 ‘ out giving up the point, and added reasons for
 ‘ not deferring it. However, as she did not
 ‘ urge the matter, Father la Rue, approaching,
 ‘ began to exhort her. She looked on him, re-
 ‘ plied that she understood, and was silent.
 ‘ Like a man, he interpreted her silence, and,
 ‘ like a good man, told her, that if she had any
 ‘ repugnance to confess to him, he begged her
 ‘ to put herself under no constraint, to be influ-
 ‘ enced by no human considerations,—he would
 ‘ take the consequence upon himself,—only say
 ‘ whom she wanted, and he would himself go
 ‘ to bring him. She asked for a Missionary, a
 ‘ strict enough casuist, who could not be found.
 ‘ She then asked for a Recollect Friar, whom
 ‘ Father la Rue brought. The confession was
 ‘ tedious. Extreme unction was administered;
 ‘ immediately after the sacred viaticum; and
 ‘ at her desire, the prayers for the dying were
 ‘ then said over her. About the evening, bleed-
 ‘ ing in the feet was tried, but produced no ef-
 ‘ fect. She was in great distress through the
 ‘ night. On Thursday the 11th, she became
 ‘ still worse, although a vomit was again admi-
 ‘ nistered.

‘ nistered. On Thursday night, and on Friday
‘ the 12th, her illness was greatly increased. PART III.
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‘ On Friday evening, her head became giddy.
‘ Any person was permitted to enter the room,
‘ although the King was present. He left it a
‘ moment or two before she expired, went into
‘ his chariot with Madame de Maintenon, and
‘ set off to Marly. They were both so over-
‘ powered as not to be able to see the Dauphin.
‘ The Dauphin confined himself the whole
‘ day in his apartment, and would see none but
‘ his brother, his Confessor and the Duke de
‘ Beauvilliers. Chiverny, d’O and Gamaches,
‘ his Gentlemen of the Bed-chamber, spent the
‘ night with him, but without seeing him, ex-
‘ cept at intervals for a few minutes. On the
‘ morning of Saturday the 13th, they determin-
‘ ed to go to Marly. He went to the chapel to
‘ hear mass. As soon as he was returned to his
‘ own apartment, Madame de Maintenon waited
‘ on him. It must have been a painful meet-
‘ ing. She could not stand it long, and left
‘ him. The Princes and Princesses next visited
‘ him, but, out of discretion, confined their vi-
‘ sits to as short a time as possible. The time of
‘ the King’s arising was near, and his three Gen-
‘ tlemen went in. I ventured to present my-
‘ self with them. He signified that he noticed
‘ me, with an air of kindness and condescension
‘ with which I was greatly affected. But I was
‘ alarmed at his look, which was fixed, with a
‘ degree

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‘ degree of wildness in his eye, at his change of
 ‘ countenance, and a number of large blue spots,
 ‘ which I, and all the others in the room as well
 ‘ as I, observed. Soon after, he was let know
 ‘ that the King was awake. Tears, notwith-
 ‘ standing his endeavours to restrain them,
 ‘ dropped from his eyes. He turned about with-
 ‘ out making answer, and staid still. His Gentle-
 ‘ men, once or twice, proposed to him to wait on
 ‘ the King. He neither moved nor replied.
 ‘ I begged and urged, even took him by the
 ‘ arm, and pushed him gently. He gave me a
 ‘ piercing look, and went out. I followed a few
 ‘ paces, and then came back to take breath. It
 ‘ was the last time I ever saw him. God, of his
 ‘ mercy, grant I may see him for ever, in that
 ‘ blessed abode for which his virtues prepared
 ‘ him!

‘ The Dauphin found the whole Court in the
 ‘ King’s apartment, who, the moment he saw
 ‘ him, called him to him, embraced him tender-
 ‘ ly, and several times in succession. In those
 ‘ trying moments, they uttered a few broken
 ‘ words, interrupted with tears and sighs. In
 ‘ a little, the King, looking on the Dauphin, was
 ‘ alarmed with the same appearances which we
 ‘ had observed in his chamber. He bade the
 ‘ Physicians feel his pulse. They have said
 ‘ since, that they found it bad; but then they
 ‘ only said that it was not distinct, and recom-
 ‘ mended to him to go to bed. The King
 ‘ commanded

‘ commanded him ; he obeyed, and never rose. PART III.
‘ In the afternoon, the fever increased. On 1712.
‘ Sunday the 14th, it continued unabated, and
‘ the Prince himself said that he felt he was ne-
‘ ver to rise. On Tuesday the 16th, the spots
‘ on his skin became more numerous, but no fa-
‘ vourable conclusion was inferred from this, for
‘ the same variations had been observed in the pro-
‘ gress of the Dauphiness’ illness. On Wednesday
‘ the 17th, his life began to be despaired of. Very
‘ late at night, the Dauphin sent to ask leave of
‘ the King to communicate in the morning with-
‘ out ceremony, when mass was said in his cham-
‘ ber. He waited impatiently for midnight,
‘ heard mass with the greatest devotion, and re-
‘ mained for two hours absorbed in internal
‘ communion with God. His head now became
‘ confused. He received extreme unction, and
‘ died placidly on the 18th, at eight in the
‘ morning. ‘ What a dreadful warning,’ ex-
‘ claimed the Dutches of Maine, ‘ what a
“ dreadful warning to Princes ! God give me
“ grace to improve it ! May this awful instance
“ of the vanity of worldly grandeur make me
“ think seriously on that which shall never fade
“ away !” *

I have copied this Journal of St Simon’s, be-
cause it affords some idea of the nature of the
disease which cut off so rapidly both the husband
and the wife ; in a few days after, hurried their
eldest

* Lettres de Maintenon, t. 7. p. 323.

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 1712.

Reflections
 on the na-
 ture of the
 disease.

eldest son the Duke of Brittany into the same tomb; and excited the most anxious alarm for the life of their second son the Duke of Anjou, then an infant only two years of age, and since King, under the name of Lewis XV.

‘ A general cry of poison arose. The unfor-
 ‘ tunate Dauphin believed it himself, caused his
 ‘ grandfather to be warned to take care of his
 ‘ safety, and died in the anguish of this dreadful
 ‘ idea. This opinion gained credit, even during
 ‘ the prevalence of the illness, from the perplex-
 ‘ ity of their Physicians, and their inability to
 ‘ explain its nature, as in their mode of treat-
 ‘ ment they proceeded upon no plan, and ap-
 ‘ peared not to know what they were about.
 ‘ On opening the bodies it was believed without
 ‘ a doubt. The Court Physicians pronounced
 ‘ that only poison could produce so rapid, so to-
 ‘ tal, so fetid a corruption. The City Physicians
 ‘ did not contradict the assertion. None but
 ‘ Marechal, the Surgeon who opened the bodies,
 ‘ ventured to contradict the general prepossession.
 ‘ He maintained that there was no certain symp-
 ‘ tom of poison, that he had seen bodies more or
 ‘ less in the same state, without ever thinking of
 ‘ poison. The poison, he said, that had proved
 ‘ fatal to the Dauphin, the Dauphinefs and their
 ‘ son, was the natural poison of an ardent fever,
 ‘ which had corrupted the mass of the blood,
 ‘ and of which the infection had been commu-
 ‘ nicated from one to another. To maintain
 ‘ the

‘ the contrary, he added, was mere guess, and was
 ‘ actually poisoning the King, and imbittering
 ‘ the rest of his days, in the cruellest manner.’
 The same Marechal, however, in a private conversation with St Simon, told him, that, according to the best of his observation, he doubted whether the deaths were natural, yet there was no certain indication that poison had been administered; and he observed that the purpose of those who had so eagerly recourse to the operation of poison, was to criminate the Duke of Orleans.

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Whether produced by the suggestions of a cabal, or originating from one of those prepossessions, which, without proof, without enquiry, sometimes gain universal credit, it is a fact, that not only the Court and the capital, but the provinces and foreign nations, adopted the suspicion against the Duke of Orleans, with a furious eagerness. ‘ When the Duke went to sprinkle
 ‘ the holy water, he was pursued with the insults and execrations of the populace. He
 ‘ heard the most shocking charges uttered against him; he was pointed out with the finger, and the most unbecoming epithets applied
 ‘ to him; the populace seemed to think it a kindness, not to fall upon and tear him to
 ‘ pieces. At the funeral procession, the roads
 ‘ resounded with expressions of indignation, more than with exclamations of sorrow. In
 ‘ Paris, it was found necessary to take measures
 ‘ quietly,

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 against the
 Duke of
 Orleans.

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‘ quietly, to restrain the fury of the public. It
 ‘ was vented in gestures, imprecations, and in
 ‘ every expression of detestation that can be ut-
 ‘ tered against a monster of wickedness. When
 ‘ the burial passed before the Royal Palace, the
 ‘ general burst of indignation rose to such a
 ‘ height, that, for a few minutes, there was eve-
 ‘ ry thing to fear. Although more gloomy and
 ‘ silent, the indignation of the Courtiers was not
 ‘ less violent. Most of them regarded the
 ‘ Prince with horror. When he attempted to
 ‘ accost them, they retired abruptly, and said
 ‘ one to another, ‘ Shall so atrocious a crime
 “ remain unpunished? Shall justice not be exe-
 “ cuted?’

‘ While these things were passing,’ says St
 Simon, ‘ I lived very retired, almost constantly
 ‘ at the pillow of the Duke de Beauvilliers,
 ‘ who was sick, and in the deepest affliction.
 ‘ The Duke and Dutches of Orleans sent to
 ‘ speak with me: I waited on them, and found
 ‘ the Dutches in great distress. She told me,
 ‘ that the Marquis d’Effiat had been to inform
 ‘ them of the reports which were propagated;
 ‘ and that the King and Madame de Maintenon
 ‘ were persuaded not only of the reality of the
 ‘ poison, but likewise of the truth of all that
 ‘ was circulated against the Duke of Orleans.
 ‘ Since the general indignation was so high,
 ‘ however disagreeable an explanation might
 ‘ be, he desired him not to delay it, and wish-
 ‘ ed

‘ ed him to have at least one conversation with
‘ the King, of whom he would do well to ask
‘ leave to surrender himself at the Bastille, and
‘ to have Homberg his chemist, and all of his
‘ servants, against whom any suspicion could
‘ lie, laid under arrest, till the affair were clear-
‘ ed up.

“ And what does the Duke mean to do, Ma-
“ dam,” said I. “ He went to speak to the
“ King,” said she, “ whom he found very seri-
“ ous, and very cold, even very dry, and very
“ silent in respect to his complaints, and to his
“ demand to have justice done him.” “ And the
“ Bastille, Madam,” interrupted I, “ spoke he of
“ it?” “ Yes, indeed; but the proposal was re-
“ jected with an air of disdain, which remain-
“ ed unchanged, although my Lord insisted.
“ He at last asked, that Homberg, at least,
“ might be taken up and examined. This like-
“ wise the King refused, with an ill enough
“ grace. He yielded, at length, to his instan-
“ ces, so far as to say, that he would not arrest
“ him; but should give orders for him to be re-
“ ceived, if he presented himself.” The Duke
‘ came in as I was going to reply. I never saw
‘ man more provoked. He told us farther, that
‘ the King having called him back, had chan-
‘ ged his mind with respect to Homberg; had
‘ told him, that it was needless for Homberg to
‘ present himself at the Bastille, for he would
‘ not

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‘ not be received ; and when he was going to
‘ infist, the King turned his back upon him.

‘ After hearing all, I observed to the Duke
‘ of Orleans, that he had been ill advised ; for
‘ that to ask to be arrested, was putting himself
‘ on a footing with the lowest of the people,
‘ with the servants in a house on which a rob-
‘ bery had been committed. He should have
‘ assumed an high tone, as a Prince of so eleva-
‘ ted a rank, who with dignity defied the ma-
‘ lignity of calumny. He should demand ju-
‘ stice publicly of the King, in his large cham-
‘ ber of audience, after supper, and in the pre-
‘ sence of the whole Court ; and without invol-
‘ ving himself in any direct accusation, to mark
‘ his enemies out so distinctly, and to speak
‘ with such boldness as might reduce them to
‘ silence.

‘ This was all that I urged in the presence of
‘ the Dutchess. But I afterwards took the
‘ Duke apart, and explained to him what I
‘ thought of the intrigue. In her presence I
‘ did not chuse to enter into that detail, because
‘ it respected her brother, the Duke of Maine.
“ Recollect,’ said I, ‘ that in the affair of Spain,
“ the cabal of Meudon, at the instigation of the
“ Dutchess of Maine, your declared enemy,
“ were for bringing you to the scaffold. The
“ Duke, although less open in his hatred, is e-
“ qually disposed to do you a mischief ; and
“ judging of you by themselves, they have cer-
“ tainly

“ tainly much to fear from a Regency, the ap-
 “ pointment of which, considering the age and
 “ dotage of the King, cannot be distant, and
 “ for which the choice must fall either on you,
 “ or on your son-in-law, the Duke of Berry.

“ I must confess,’ added I, ‘ that I have my
 “ suspicions of the motives with which d’Effiat
 “ gave his advice. You have hitherto reposed
 “ great confidence in him; and he is, in truth,
 “ a man of understanding, shrewdness, and ad-
 “ dress; but unprincipled, avaricious, ambi-
 “ tious, and ready to sacrifice every thing to fa-
 “ vour, and to fortune. You must have remark-
 “ ed, that though of dissolute manners, and ma-
 “ king an open profession of irreligion,—a cha-
 “ racter so directly opposite to the taste of the
 “ King, and Madame de Maintenon,—he is,
 “ however, viewed by them with a favourable
 “ eye, and treated with marks of distinction.
 “ This indicates a private understanding. I
 “ know him to be intimate with the Duke of
 “ Maine, and especially with the Dutchess. Is
 “ this friendship and respect for your enemies
 “ consistent with the confidence with which
 “ you have always honoured him? There is
 “ reason to suspect, that his advice must have
 “ been given, with the unfriendly intention to
 “ make you either flee under the impression of
 “ terror, and thus render yourself culpable in
 “ the eyes of the King and the nation, or else
 “ embrace captivity, which under a doting and

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His justification.

“ prejudiced Monarch, they might prolong
 “ while it suited their purposes.’ The Duke
 ‘ stared me in the face, then hung his head and
 ‘ was silent.

‘ His distress under so horrible an imputation
 ‘ was the greater, because he had been really
 ‘ attached to the Dauphin. The two Princes
 ‘ were fond of each others company : They de-
 ‘ lighted to converse on the arts and sciences,
 ‘ in which they were both well skilled. Beau-
 ‘ villiers and Fenelon had united them in child-
 ‘ hood in this intimacy, and it still lasted. Beau-
 ‘ villiers even, observing that the Dauphin could
 ‘ not well bear the unguarded expressions which
 ‘ sometimes escaped the Duke of Orleans, re-
 ‘ specting morals and religion, had privately
 ‘ warned him to be more circumspect. He
 ‘ took the advice, which gave pleasure to the
 ‘ Dauphin. Besides, the Duke of Orleans took
 ‘ the part of the Duke of Burgundy in a high
 ‘ tone, respecting the campaign of Lisle ; and
 ‘ he defended the Duke of Orleans in the affair
 ‘ of Spain. The Dauphiness, daughter of the
 ‘ Dutchess of Savoy, sister to the Duke of Or-
 ‘ leans, who had, from her first arrival in France,
 ‘ attached herself to her uncle, and had, as well
 ‘ as her husband, always shewn him great friend-
 ‘ ship, was the agent that effected the marriage
 ‘ of his daughter with the Duke of Berry, and
 ‘ was even intimate with the Dutchess of Or-
 ‘ leans. Madame de Maintenon herself ac-
 ‘ knowledges

‘ knowledges this ; and after the mournful event, used often to say, ‘ I often see the “ Dutcheſs of Orleans. Her friendship for the “ Dauphineſs has endeared her to me.’ It is ‘ clear, therefore, that the Duke of Orleans had ‘ no intereſt to ſerve by removing the Dauphin ‘ and Dauphineſs out of the way. It would, ‘ on the contrary, have been greatly to his advantage, to ſee them live and reign ! And, if ‘ we would attribute this crime to perſons who ‘ could have motives to commit it, it is on the ‘ Duke and Dutcheſs of Maine, and their adherents, we muſt throw the blame ; for it might ‘ be ſuppoſed, that the Dauphin ſtill retained a ‘ lively reſentment of the ill offices which the ‘ cabal of Meudon had done him ; and he was ‘ beſides known to have no perſonal regard for ‘ the Duke of Maine, who, by the favour of the ‘ King and Madame de Maintenon, had ſometimes prevailed over him : And laſtly, he had ‘ ſeen with diſcontent the privileges conferred ‘ by Lewis on the legitimate Princeſſes, and it ‘ might be feared, that he would divest them ‘ of thoſe privileges when he came to the ‘ throne.’

Prepoſſeſſed as were the public, that the deaths in the Royal Family had been criminally effected, they ſuffered no circumſtance to paſs unobſerved, that could afford the leaſt room for conjecture. The Duke of Noailles had given the Dauphineſs a box of Spaniſh ſnuff. She

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‘ took some of it, and, two days after, was taken
‘ ill. The box was sought for, to examine the
‘ snuff. Their failure in the search, and the
‘ events which followed, produced the most se-
‘ rious suspicions. Yet these suspicions fell not
‘ on the person who gave the box ; none was
‘ more attached to the Dauphiness than the
‘ Duke of Noailles ; the rumour was even con-
‘ fined within a narrow circle.

‘ A month after the death of the pair, Ma-
‘ dame d’Urfini sent the Marquis de Chamlay
‘ into France, who, after a good deal of enquiry,
‘ seized and put into the Bastille a Cordelier,
‘ who had travelled through Italy and Germa-
‘ ny, and had even spent some time in Vienna.
‘ M. d’Argenson was employed to interrogate
‘ him, and found means to oblige the Duke of
‘ Orleans, by letting him know privately, that
‘ the affair in no way respected him. It was gi-
‘ ven out, that the Cordelier had been engaged
‘ by the House of Austria to poison the King of
‘ Spain and his children, while the Duke of
‘ Orleans was to poison the French part of
‘ Lewis XIV.’s family. The poor wretch was
‘ conveyed to the castle of Segovia, where he
‘ lived a considerable time, always in transports
‘ of fury against the House of Austria, and the
‘ ministers of the Court of Vienna, whom he ac-
‘ cused of having reduced him to that miserable
‘ condition, and of doing nothing to help him
‘ out of it.’

It

It was according to the same writer, only by the following means, that weight could be given to the accusation against the House of Austria.

‘ Among the papers of General Merci, found
‘ in his baggage, after a battle gained by
‘ the Marquis Dubourg, was a letter from
‘ Prince Eugene, which, after making out the
‘ plan of an expedition, continued thus: ‘ If you
“ are unsuccessful, and if France cannot be
“ brought to the terms which we propose, re-
“ course must then be had to the *great remedy*.’
‘ This *great remedy* might be explained into the
‘ deaths of those that were deplored, and the ex-
‘ treme danger of the Duke of Anjou: And it
‘ might be inferred, that this horrid piece of
‘ wickedness had been planned and perpetrated
‘ to force Lewis, on the extinction of the elder
‘ branch of his family, to recal the Spanish
‘ branch into France, and yield up that monar-
‘ chy to the House of Austria. It was a mean
‘ of consolation to the old King, to remove the
‘ criminals to a distance, and thus make him
‘ easy with respect to the fear of being poisoned
‘ by those about him.’

But, to accomplish this object, a much easier way would have been, to deny that there was poison in the case. And, in fact, had it been possible at the time to view things coolly, no such crime would ever have been surmised: For how imagine, that poison could be given at once to the father, the mother, and two children? Four persons, who lived in different

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apartments, and with different attendants, whose diet and habits of life were by no means the same. After poisoning one by snuff, another must have been poisoned with meats, a third with drink.—And different creatures were to be gained for the perpetration of each of these different crimes. Besides, where was a poison to be found, whose effects might so exactly run through the periods, and imitate the symptoms of an acute disease, an ardent fever, with livid spots, putridity, and drowfiness? The physicians, it is said, allowed the operation of poison. But St Simon, though disposed to think with them, remarks, ‘ That the Dauphiness’s physician, enraged at the loss of a Princess who had so kindly patronised him, and to see his hopes blasted by her death, maintained the notion of poison, like a man bewitched.’ The Court Physicians adopted his opinion, and others durst not contradict it. They were perhaps not ill pleased to have a disorder attributed to an extraordinary and irremediable cause, which, if natural, did no honour to their skill*.

All

* Madame makes an observation which may tend to remove the suspicions which arose concerning the nature of the disease, by which the Dutchess of Burgundy died. ‘ She was delicate and sickly. Her physician Chirac, to the very moment of her death, said, she would recover. It is certain, that had she been differently treated, she might still have been living. They made her rise when she was all in a sweat, and her skin flushed with the spots. I begged them not to raise her out of bed. But Chirac and Fagon were positive;

All the resources of art might possibly have failed to prolong the days of the Dauphiness; yet it was but a poor consolation that was offer-

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R 4 ed

‘positive; and the old —— coming close upon me, exclaimed, ‘What! Madam, do you pretend to know more than all these physicians!’ I said, ‘No; but no great skill was necessary to see that nature should be followed; and that when nature inclines to sweating, it would be better to encourage that, than to raise the sick person, in the height of the sweat, to bleed her.’ She shrugged her shoulders, and smiled disdainfully. Both she and old Fagon were, at the time, much approved for their conduct. On the 12th of December, 1719.’ *Fragments*, t. 2. p. 72, 73.

The Duke of Vendome is well known to have been intemperate in eating and drinking. Yet his death, which happened in Spain in 1712, and which, from the symptoms, seems to have been owing to indigestion, has been attributed to poison, as well as that of the Dauphin and the Dauphiness. In the second volume of the printed Memoirs of St Simon, and in the first of the Memoirs of d’Argenson, we have an anecdote, which I did not find in my manuscript. It may suggest matter of serious reflection to those who are in health, entirely devoted to sensual pleasures, and keep none about them but mercenary wretches, the vile instruments of their debauchery :

‘When the Duke of Vendome’s illness gained a certain height, he was deserted by all about him, and left in the hands of three or four of his lowest valets, while the rest pillaged his apartments, and made off. He thus passed the two or three last days of his life, without a priest, and without having any person to speak to, or any assistance but a surgeon. The three or four servants who remained with him, when they saw him near his last, laid hold on what remained, and for want of better, took even the sheets and covering of the bed on which he lay. He implored them not to leave him to die naked on the bare straw; but I know not if they lent an ear to his request.’ *Fragments*, &c.

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ed to Madame de Maintenon: ‘ They say that
‘ the Dauphin, on account of his figure, could
‘ not have lived another year. But the Duke
‘ of Burgundy, and our dear Princess, what was
‘ there against their living longer?’ In this
letter, out of the extremity of her grief, she
vows never to accept consolation. ‘ I weep,
‘ and will continue, all my life, to weep for the
‘ Dauphiness. In vain do they tell me things
‘ to make me believe, that, had she lived, she
‘ would have given me great uneasiness. I shall
‘ still lament her.’

Regret of
the nation.

The mourning, especially for the Dauphin,
was general. ‘ France never had a Prince of
‘ whom the nation conceived higher hopes.
‘ To a lively, perspicuous, and elevated genius,
‘ he joined unremitting application to the dis-
‘ charge of his duties. He thought it his most
‘ essential duty, to obtain a thorough know-
‘ ledge of whatever might contribute to raise
‘ the nation to a flourishing state, and render
‘ his subjects happy. He had given unque-
‘ stionable proofs of his regard to equity, his
‘ compassion for the poor, and aversion for war,
‘ in which ambition, avarice, hatred, revenge,
‘ are consulted more than justice. His piety
‘ was much above what is to be expected from
‘ a person of his birth. To find other instances
‘ of such austere and regular devotion, we must
‘ return to the age of St Lewis. Never did the
‘ nation weep so copiously, or with such since-
‘ rity,

‘ rity, for the loss of any other of her Princes. **PART III.**
‘ No eloquence of panegyric can commemorate **1712.**
‘ to posterity half the lamentation and sorrow
‘ excited by his death.

‘ After his death, the King made his cabinet
‘ be brought him, and with his own hand, burnt
‘ all the papers of the Archbishop of Cambray’s
‘ that were found in it. Madame de Mainte-
‘ non, who communicates this fact, adds, ‘ I
“ was very sorry for it. Never was any thing
“ better or more elegantly written. If the
“ Prince whom we deplore had faults, those
“ were not his having followed too timid coun-
“ sels, or listened to flattery.” This testimony
is at once the elogium of the pupil, and of the
master.

From what St Simon says concerning the lat- **Fenelon.**
ter, it appears, that the author of *Telemachus*,
who, in his writings, exhibits so happy a pat-
tern for the imitation of Monarchs, afforded in
his own character a no less perfect model of a
Prelate. In his diocese, Fenelon behaved as a
Bishop, a great Lord, and a man of beneficence.
His first care was to discharge his duties as a
Pastor. The detail of these it may not be im-
proper to insert. ‘ He made his Episcopal visi-
‘ tations several times in the year, by which
‘ means he became perfectly acquainted with
‘ his diocese. Affairs were promptly dispatch-
‘ ed, in the most disinterested manner, with the
‘ greatest mildness, and ever without violence.
‘ Whatever

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‘ Whatever might occasion scandal was concealed, but not suffered to escape unpunished. All was quieted and settled in secret. Those who laboured under him were inspired with the same peaceable spirit, and from them it was communicated to the other Ministers. He settled every day whatever occurred; and as he was resident, observed with his own eyes, and possessed an active perspicacious mind, the labours of no day were tedious or tiresome.

‘ After doing business with his Grand Vicars, he received those who wished to speak with him, said mass in his chapel, or went elsewhere to celebrate it, when the devotion of the people, or any solemnity required; he then dined with his company, which was always numerous; eating but little, and of light things, but prolonging the meal for the entertainment of his guests: He then retired to study. The evening he spent either in paying visits, or in walking without the city, with his Grand Vicars and other clergymen, conversing with them on religious subjects, but intermixing his discourse with frequent and agreeable digressions. The gentleness and wisdom of his government, his frequent sermons in the city and the villages, his easiness of access, his humanity to the small, and politeness to the great, made him adored by his whole diocese. His Chapter, whom he treated with every sort

‘ of

‘ of respect, the other clergy, secular and regu-
 ‘ lar, to whom, according to difference of age,
 ‘ he shewed the affection of a father, or a bro-
 ‘ ther, all gave him the first place in their
 ‘ hearts.

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‘ The Jansenists, who were numerous in his
 ‘ diocese, were suffered to live unmolested.
 ‘ They held their peace, and the Archbishop
 ‘ did not attack them. It might have been
 ‘ wished,’ observes St Simon, ‘ that he had left
 ‘ all others equally undisturbed ; but he was too
 ‘ much attached to the Jesuits, and had too
 ‘ great expectations from them, not to become
 ‘ their instrument. All that he gained was fre-
 ‘ quent rude repulses from those whom he pro-
 ‘ voked.’ Our author, who is never unwilling
 to throw a shade on his brightest portraits, at the
 same time asserts, that ‘ his ambition was still
 ‘ unextinguished ; that even after the Dauphin’s
 ‘ death, he entertained hopes, which were en-
 ‘ couraged by Father Tellier, of being raised to
 ‘ the head of ecclesiastical affairs ; and that the
 ‘ Duke de Beauvilliers, in the name of the Duke
 ‘ of Orleans, sent him an assurance of being em-
 ‘ ployed, with distinction in the Government.’
 St Simon blames also the dogmatic writings which
 he sometimes published, and is of opinion, that
 in respect to matters of doctrine, silence would
 have best become the author who had been so
 solemnly condemned for the book intituled the
Maxims of the Saints.

But

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But these blemishes, if we must acknowledge them in Fenelon, would be almost entirely effaced by the amiable qualities above mentioned, and by the conspicuous virtues which remain to be described. ‘ Charity was one of his ‘ principal virtues. His charity comprehended ‘ all mankind, the rich and the poor, his friends ‘ and his enemies. The numbers of sick and ‘ wounded persons, who were on different occasions brought to his Episcopal city, afforded ‘ him a great opportunity for the exercise of it. ‘ He was assiduous in his attendance at the hospitals, and among the inferior officers. The ‘ superior officers he treated with great attention, often entertaining numbers of them, for ‘ several months together in his house, till they ‘ were perfectly cured. He watched over their ‘ salvation, with the care of a faithful pastor. ‘ The politeness which he had acquired by his ‘ intercourse with the world, induced them to ‘ address themselves commonly to him; and ‘ they were not disappointed. Whether sick or ‘ in health, he readily heard their humble confessions, and became their guide in the path ‘ of penitence. He never refused to attend, ‘ even when called by any in the hospitals. ‘ The compassionate Prelate was attentive to ‘ their bodily, as well as their spiritual wants. ‘ From his palace they were supplied with both ‘ food and medicines; and he took great care ‘ to have every thing of the best quality, in
‘ great

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great plenty, and given out in an orderly manner. He would preside at the consultations of the physicians, with all the anxious attention of a warm and tender friend. It is incredible to what a degree he became the idol of the military, and how frequently, amid his disgrace, his name was mentioned with high applause at Court.

Lewis himself, prepossessed as he was, could not refuse him his approbation, when, in a scarcity of corn, he opened his granaries, which were well stored, to the soldiers of the garrison, and distributed his grain, but would accept no price. The Court of Brussels, and the hostile Generals, understanding that his charity extended to their soldiers, as well as to the French, loaded him with proofs of their kindness and respect. In marches, they have been seen to respect the territories of the Archbishoprick, as the common property of mankind in general.

The purity of his morals was never suspected. To suspect them, would have been a dishonour. His conversation was gay and lively; but ever restrained within the bounds of decency and propriety. His table was nice and splendid, suitable to the rank of a great Lord. It was not, however, distinguished by any thing unbecoming the Episcopal character, or inconsistent with the strictest regularity. Every discreet freedom was enjoyed
under

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‘ under his roof; he might be said to array Vir-
 ‘ tue in a dress which improved her charms.

‘ Fenelon survived his pupil the Dauphin,
 ‘ two years. Never a word escaped him, either
 ‘ during that Prince’s life, or after his death,
 ‘ expressive either of regret for what was past,
 ‘ or of a longing for what was to come. The
 ‘ duties of his office engrossed his whole atten-
 ‘ tion: He may be said to have died on the field
 ‘ of honour. As he was returning from an
 ‘ Episcopal visitation, his carriage was overturn-
 ‘ ed at a dangerous pass. There was no person
 ‘ hurt, and he himself was not even in danger.
 ‘ But at the sight of others in danger, the deli-
 ‘ cate sensibility of his mind was as much af-
 ‘ fected as if he had been actually hurt by the
 ‘ accident. It was too much for his frail state
 ‘ of health. By the time he reached Cambray,
 ‘ he was seized with a fever, which soon in-
 ‘ creased to such a height as to render his con-
 ‘ dition hopeless. During his illness, he ap-
 ‘ peared absolutely indifferent about what he
 ‘ was leaving, and occupied solely with that to
 ‘ which he was removing. Affected with sen-
 ‘ timents of the sincerest penitence, he resigned
 ‘ his soul into the hands of God, with a mixture
 ‘ of humility and confidence. In this situation
 ‘ he wrote a letter to the King, in which was
 ‘ no request for himself, but solely for the wants
 ‘ of his diocese. Lewis acknowledged that
 ‘ there was never any thing more affecting, or
 ‘ worthier

‘ worthier of a great Bishop on his deathbed. PART III.
 ‘ Fenelon died at the age of sixty-five, in the 1712.
 ‘ arms of his relations, in the midst of his cler-
 ‘ gy, with none but friends to witness his last
 ‘ moments, and was equally deplored by Pro-
 ‘ testants and Catholics throughout his diocese.
 ‘ To complete his elogy, he was found to have
 ‘ ordered every thing so exactly, that he left
 ‘ neither debt nor fortune to his heirs *.’

‘ Lewis XIV.’ says Marshal Villars †, ‘ bore Magnani-
 ‘ his misfortunes with heroic constancy. But mity of
 ‘ the first time I had the honour to see him at Lewis XIV
 ‘ Marly after these disastrous events, the firm-
 ‘ ness of the Monarch yielded to the sensibility
 ‘ of the Father. He dropped some tears, and
 ‘ said in an affecting tone, ‘ You see my condi-
 “ tion, Marshal; there are few other instances of
 “ such a series of misfortunes as have befallen
 “ me,—to lose, in one week, a grandson, a
 “ grand-daughter-in-law, with their son, all ex-
 “ tremely promising, and tenderly beloved!
 “ God lays his chastening hand upon me; it is
 “ what I have deserved. I shall at least have
 “ the less to suffer in the other world. But,
 “ enough of my domestic misfortunes; let us
 “ consider what may be done to obviate the
 “ misfortunes of the nation.”

The following part of this conversation so well
 expressed the magnanimity of Lewis, that I
 cannot

* St Simon, t. 2. p. 105.

† Vie de Villars, t. 2. p. 197.

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cannot forbear inserting the whole. ‘The confidence which I repose in you,’ continued the Monarch, ‘is very high; I intrust to you the powers and the safety of the State. I know your zeal, and the valour of my troops. But fortune may still be adverse. Should any misfortune happen the army under your command, What steps, think you, should I take for the safety of my person?’ ‘I hesitated some moments,’ says Villars, ‘before offering a reply to so weighty and important a question.’ The King continued; ‘I am not surprised at your not being ready with an answer; but I shall tell you my own opinion on this matter.

‘I know the sentiments of the Courtiers. They would, almost all, have me to retire to Blois, and not wait till the hostile army approach Paris,—as, if mine be routed, they possibly may. But I know that such powerful armies are never so entirely defeated, but that a great part of mine may retreat over the Somme. I know the passage of the river to be difficult; but there are places where it might be made good. I should chuse to go to Peronne or St Quintin to assemble all my remaining troops, and in one last effort, either save the State, or perish with you.’

Affairs at
Denain.

But it did not become necessary to carry this final resolution into execution. The year 1711, though so fatal to the Royal Family, was less disastrous

disastrous to France than the preceding years had been. The hopes of the French were revived by the victory at Denain, and its happy consequences. At the time attempts were made to deny Marshal Villars, who commanded on that occasion, the glory of the victory. His detractors pretended, that Marshal Montesquieu, the second in command, formed the plan, and when he sent it to Lewis, let him know, that he was sure Villars would, out of jealousy, disapprove of it, and he must therefore have orders to which that General should be forced to yield obedience. The King is said to have ordered him, in return, 'to carry it into execution, even 'in spite of Villars, but to manage the matter 'with address in respect to *him*.' They add, that Montesquieu, thus authorised, took his measures so judiciously, that his colleague found himself engaged before he knew of it, and was obliged to rout the enemy without having foreseen so much.

We may leave to military men to judge, whether it were possible for so great an army to make an immense provision of fascines, transport their artillery, raise several bridges, remove entirely from right to left, and perform a retrograde march with all the complicated movements requisite to surprise a skilful General, without the Commander in chief knowing any thing of all these measures,—especially when so active and vigilant as Villars. He is said 'to

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‘ have marched slowly ; to have wished, although
 ‘ he made no haste, that the action should not
 ‘ begin till he came up ; and to have continued
 ‘ undetermined, till the Marshal de Montesquieu,
 ‘ having already joined battle. sent him word,
 ‘ *The wine is poured out, it must be drunk.*’ Is
 this the impetuous Villars ? The reply which
 he made, when urged to stop as he was running
 into danger, *March on,*—is more expressive of
 his character. Instead of moving about, he,
 with the regiment of Navarre, plunged up to
 the middle in water, in a morass. At the as-
 sault of Denain, he replied to those who advised
 him to wait for fascines, ‘ The bodies of those
 ‘ who fall will serve for fascines.’ When he
 sprung into the fort, he found several of the
 enemy’s Generals under his horse’s feet. In
 the heat of the action, he called to M. de Bro-
 glio, ‘ *To Marchiennes, Count.*’ These are traits
 of his real character. But it was the fate of this
 General to see his most splendid actions assailed
 by envy, who laboured incessantly to deface
 their lustre.

Villars and
Berwick.

In the course of this unfortunate war for the
 succession, there were two men, who, with equal
 success, maintained the honour of the French
 arms, Villars and Berwick*. The latter was a
 man of coolness, calmness and reflection. ‘ He
 ‘ preferred defensive war ; and has been heard
 ‘ to say, that what he had through life most ar-
 ‘ dently

* Memoires de Berwick.—Eloge par M. de Montesquieu.

‘dently wished for, was to have a good place to defend.’ Yet this man, commonly so cool and cautious, shewed, on more than one occasion, all the activity and ardour necessary in offensive war. Villars, again, has been suspected of liking nothing, save pure fighting; but he avers himself that he was afraid of general actions. ‘There is always so much chance in them,’ says he, ‘that a wise man must view those great events with diffident respect.’ In the camp at Sirk, he displayed all the talents of a man formed only for defensive war. The caution of Berwick hindered him not from offering battle. Villars, with all his impetuosity, could avoid it on occasions. The resemblance holds likewise in that they were, neither of them, Courtiers. Villars was obliged to leave Bavaria, because he chose to lose favour rather than endanger the army under his command, by submitting to the Elector, whose affairs went to wreck after his departure. The Queen of Spain said of Berwick, ‘He is a great dry English devil, who goes always straight forward.’ Finding the General less pliable and complaisant than she wished, she had him recalled; but she had almost paid for her humour with the loss of her Crown.

The young Queen of Spain submitted implicitly to the direction of the Princess d’Urfini, whose fate may afford a lesson to those favourites of Princes, who think to secure their influence by rendering it absolute. Having been forced,

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Disgrace
of the Prin-
cess d’Ur-
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a few years before, to leave Madrid, she, in imitation of Mazarine's conduct after his return to France, determined, if she were again disgraced, not to go away so empty-handed as at first. This Lady, after reigning in Spain in another's name, resolved to reign in her own name; and when the King of Spain bestowed on the Elector of Bavaria, all his remaining dominions in the Low Countries, seized the opportunity to stipulate with the Elector for a territory, affording an annual revenue of one hundred thousand livres *, to be held by her in entire sovereignty for life. It was soon after agreed that the chief part of that territory, should be la Roche en Ardenne; and that the sovereignty might be exchanged, parcelled out, or reduced into any form that the Sovereign chose.

Madame d'Urfini thought herself so certain of enjoying this present, that she contrived to exchange her future sovereignty on the frontier of France for one even within France, consisting of Touraine and the Pays d'Amboise, and reversible to the Crown at her death. With these views, which she believed could not possibly fail, she sent d'Aubigny, her favourite Gentleman, into France, with orders to prepare her a magnificent palace in that district. In obedience to her orders, he bought a piece of ground, in a place called Chanteloup, between

* L. 4166 : 13 : 4 Sterling.

‘ between Tours and Amboise, unconnected
 ‘ with any estate, and bearing no title, which,
 ‘ as she was to be a Sovereign in the province,
 ‘ she did not need, and set immediately about
 ‘ building a large palace, with vast courts and
 ‘ offices, furnishing it richly, and planting mag-
 ‘ nificent gardens. The province, the whole
 ‘ neighbourhood, Paris, and the Court, were in
 ‘ utter astonishment. Nobody could conceive
 ‘ the purpose of expending such prodigious sums
 ‘ on a mere villa ; for a house in the country,
 ‘ without territory, revenue, or title of nobility,
 ‘ could merit no other name ;—on a box, in
 ‘ short, so magnificent, and so unsuitable to the
 ‘ inhabitants. It was long a mystery, and re-
 ‘ mained unexplained, till after a singular event,
 ‘ the particulars of which are curious enough.’

Maria Louisa of Savoy, sister to the late Dau-
 phiness, died in the beginning of the year 1714,
 at the age of twenty-six. The Princess d’Ur-
 fini was, on this occasion, the only consolation
 of Philip. He shut himself up with her, and
 would neither see nor speak to any person else.
 It was even thought, that his predilection for
 her company, and aversion for any other, might
 induce that unsocial and melancholy Monarch
 to marry her, though much older than himself.
 She perhaps flattered herself with such an idea.
 We may at least presume, that, in consequence
 of finding herself disappointed in this view, if
 she had ever formed it, she endeavoured to pro-

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cure him a second wife, whom she might govern as absolutely as his first. There was a report then, that the Abbé Alberoni, who had been settled in Spain by the late Duke of Vendome, and had since greatly raised his fortune under the protection of the Camerera Major, outwitted her. He proposed to her to give the hand of the King of Spain to Elizabeth Farnese, daughter to his former master the Duke of Parma. Knowing Madame d'Urfini's views, he represented the young Princess as soft, timid, complaisant, and made to be governed. His word was taken, and he was sent to negotiate the marriage. But when it was nearly concluded upon, the Princess d'Urfini came to understand that her intended Queen was a quite different character from what she had been described,—haughty, imperious, passionate, and more disposed to command than to obey. She instantly dispatched a courier to put off the nuptials. He presented himself to Alberoni at a late hour in the evening. 'If you regard your life,' said the Abbé to him, '*arrive* to-morrow.' He concealed the messenger and his dispatches, had the marriage celebrated, and set out for Spain with the new Queen. St Simon says this marriage was projected and concluded unknown to Lewis XIV. who was highly incensed against the Princess d'Urfini. He gave orders, however, for the suitable reception of his grandson's wife on the frontiers of his kingdom, through which she

‘ passed

passed on her way from Florence to Madrid. He sent the Duke de St Aignau, a nobleman of amiable manners and a prudent deportment, to attend her; and he was observed, during the journey, to be in very good understanding with Alberoni.

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‘ The King and Queen of Spain were on opposite sides, both approaching the Guadalaxara, where the first interview was to take place, at about fourteen leagues from Madrid. The severity of the season in the end of December 1714, the badness of the roads, and the shortness of the days, occasioned Philip to take up three days in this short journey. The Princess d’Urfini had resumed the title of Camerera Major. She, by her sole authority, had formed the Queen’s household, and taken care to have every individual, both men and women, creatures of her own. None but persons selected by her attended the King on his journey, and to them she had given directions to keep all others at a distance. She followed his coach; and whenever they stopped, he shut himself up with her, and saw none else till he went to bed. She thus kept him entirely out of sight; but when they came within seven leagues of the place where they were to meet the Queen, it became necessary for Madame d’Urfini to set forward before his Majesty.

S 4

‘ She

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‘ She set out on the 22d of December, hoping
 ‘ to receive the grateful acknowledgments of
 ‘ her whom she had raised to the dignity of
 ‘ Queen, to pass the day gaily in her company,
 ‘ and to present her next day to the King. In
 ‘ this agreeable state of spirits, she arrived, ac-
 ‘ costed the Queen, and began conversation.
 ‘ But she had not said many words, when the
 ‘ Queen interrupted her, told her that her dress
 ‘ was unsuitable, and that she failed in the re-
 ‘ spect due to *her*. Madame d’Urfini, whose
 ‘ dress was very suitable, and her manners very
 ‘ respectful, made excuses. The Queen would
 ‘ not hear her, cried out that she was insulted,
 ‘ and in a rage commanded Madame d’Urfini
 ‘ to get out of her presence. On her hesitating,
 ‘ the Queen, bawling in a louder tone, ‘ Turn
 ‘ out this fool,’ pushed her out of the room her-
 ‘ self, called Ensenago, who commanded the de-
 ‘ tachment of the Guards, ordered him to arrest
 ‘ her, put her into a coach, with a single at-
 ‘ tendant, two Swiss Officers, and a sufficient
 ‘ guard, and send her towards the frontiers, with
 ‘ an absolute prohibition to stop in any town by
 ‘ the way. Ensenago attempted to represent
 ‘ that none but the King had power to give
 ‘ such orders. ‘ Have not you,’ returned Eliza-
 ‘ beth, ‘ received the King’s orders to obey me
 ‘ implicitly, without reserve or remonstrance?’
 ‘ He acknowledged that he had. ‘ Go then,’
 ‘ replied she, ‘ and do as I command.’ By her
 ‘ orders,

orders, the first Gentleman found a coach with six horses in an instant. The disgraced Camerera Major, in full dress, as she had appeared before the Queen, was put into the coach, with one female attendant and two Officers, and sent off at seven o'clock, on Christmas eve, in a very cold night, and so dark that there was no light but what the snow afforded.

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Astonishment and consternation seemed at first to have so occupied her mind as to exclude every other sentiment. But these soon gave place to grief, indignation and despair; and these last sentiments were followed by deep and bitter reflections on a procedure so sudden, so extraordinary, so unprovoked, so destitute even of the slightest pretext to justify it. What would the King think? Would not he be moved with the highest indignation at such an abuse of his authority? Would not the group of her creatures about the Queen move heaven and earth for vengeance?

Thus passed this long night, excessively cold, and nothing to protect her from its severity. In the morning it became necessary to stop and feed the horses. As for the men, they did as they could. The Spanish inns afforded nothing: You are only told where each different thing may be had. Your meat is commonly to kill, the wine muddy and flat, the bread tough as leather, the water generally execrable,

PART III. 1714-15. ‘ execrable, and there are no beds for any but
 ‘ carriers. Travellers need to carry every thing
 ‘ with them; and Madame d’Urfini and her at-
 ‘ tendants had not had time to make any provi-
 ‘ sion. She was therefore reduced to lie on
 ‘ straw, and support life with two fresh eggs a-
 ‘ day, ‘a manner of living very different in-
 ‘ deed,’ said she, ‘from that to which I had
 ‘ been accustomed.’

‘ Till day, notwithstanding her disagreeable
 ‘ reflections, she had kept profound silence. In
 ‘ that time she had leisure to compose her coun-
 ‘ tenance, and now began to speak very calmly
 ‘ of her extreme surprise, and the little that had
 ‘ passed between her and the Queen. The two
 ‘ officers, accustomed as they and all Spain had
 ‘ been, to fear and respect her, replied in the
 ‘ best way they could, under their astonishment
 ‘ at what had happened. They still conti-
 ‘ nued their journey. She had written to the
 ‘ King and the Queen,—but no news. The
 ‘ longer the delay, the weaker did her hopes
 ‘ become, till they vanished entirely at sight of
 ‘ Chalais and Lanti, her two nephews, who in-
 ‘ formed her of what had passed since her de-
 ‘ parture.

‘ The Queen had dispatched an officer to the
 ‘ King, who found him going to bed. On read-
 ‘ ing his wife’s letter, he seemed a little moved,
 ‘ replied shortly, but gave no orders, and went
 ‘ to bed. What had passed did not transpire at
 ‘ the

‘ the Court of Guadalaxara, till ten next morn-
 ‘ ing. As may be naturally imagined, the a-
 ‘ stonishment was general, but none dared to
 ‘ speak. To know the King’s sentiments on the
 ‘ matter, every body waited to see what effects
 ‘ his answer to the Queen should produce. She
 ‘ arrived in the evening perfectly undisturbed.
 ‘ —Philip received her as if nothing had hap-
 ‘ pened, conducted her to the chapel, where the
 ‘ nuptial ceremony was celebrated anew, and
 ‘ thence to his chamber, in which they went to
 ‘ bed at six in the evening, and rose by midnight
 ‘ to mass. On Christmas-day, the King declared,
 ‘ that there should be no change in the Queen’s
 ‘ household, which made every body easy, and
 ‘ from that instant the Princess d’Urfini was no
 ‘ more mentioned at Court, than if she had ne-
 ‘ ver been heard of there. Philip, when he
 ‘ gave her nephews leave to join her, intrusted
 ‘ them with a letter, in which, without expres-
 ‘ sing the least regret for the disagreeable man-
 ‘ ner in which she had been dismissed by the
 ‘ Queen, he only said, that he could not avoid
 ‘ complying with the wishes of his wife, but
 ‘ that her pensions should be duly paid.’

This was all the comfort she brought to St-
 Jean-de-Luz on the 14th of January 1715, from
 which she wrote to Madame de Maintenon.

‘ Here I am in a small house by the sea-side.
 ‘ I see it often in agitation, and sometimes calm ;
 ‘ fit emblem of Courts, of what I have seen, of
 ‘ what

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‘ what has happened to myself, and must excite
 ‘ your generous compassion!’ But if Madame de
 Maintenon felt some pity for her old friend, she
 could not prevail with Lewis to adopt the same sentiments. Nay, the disgrace of Madame d’Urfini probably originated with the Court of France; although, perhaps, contrived and conducted by Alberoni, who, if it be true that he urged on the marriage, in disregard of her orders, had every thing to fear from the *Camerera Major*. He might rouse the resentment of Lewis, who would be disposed to punish Madame d’Urfini, for assuming an exclusive authority over his grandson; for having the audacity to conclude the alliance with Parma, without communicating any thing of the matter to him, but what she could not, with any shew of propriety, conceal; for having, out of ambition to obtain an independent sovereignty, made impertinent demands; for raising obstacles, on the part of Spain, to the peace of Rastadt,—the failure of which he thought owing to her pertinacious desire to obtain a principality. For these reasons, to which the grandfather might have added the necessity of removing a woman of such an intriguing spirit to a distance from Philip, if he wished to live happily with his new married wife; for these reasons Lewis might require the sacrifice of the favourite: And the Princess of Parma would readily become the instrument of the disgrace of a woman, who, after first proposing

sing to place the crown of Spain on her head, had then attempted to divest her of it.

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There was, however, it must be confessed, great harshness in the manner of her disgrace. The King of Spain, if gratitude be a virtue in kings, ought to have commanded more respect to be shewn to a person to whom he had essential obligations. ‘ Madame d’Urfini had talents
‘ for business, as well as intrigue; elevation of
‘ sentiment, without the littlenesses of vanity;
‘ not less zeal for the honour and interest of her
‘ Sovereigns, than jealous of their favour. In
‘ virtues, and in accomplished manners, she
‘ could not vie with Madame de Maintenon,
‘ but possessed greater force of mind, and energy
‘ of character. If guilty of errors, she performed
‘ also important services; it was by her counsel
‘ and direction the young Queen became the idol
‘ of the nation; she it was who inspired the King
‘ with fortitude to sustain the assaults of adversity, without shrinking before the storms
‘ which arose against him. She was intriguing,
‘ haughty, ambitious. How many famous ministers have been of the same character? But
‘ her courage and resolution, amid the extremities of danger to which the Monarch was exposed, contributed greatly to maintain him on
‘ the throne.’

Lewis XIV. would not permit her to settle in France. It came then to be known for whom the magnificent palace of Chanteloup had been intended.

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Irregulari-
ty of the
Dutcheis of
Berry.

intended. Leaving d'Aubigny the builder to enjoy it, she retired to Rome, where the Pope at first made difficulties about receiving her. She there died, at a very advanced age, after leading for a while an obscure life, and receiving regular payment of her pensions, the only remains of her departed grandeur. So passed her dream of favour, though rather uncommonly long.

The career of life, shortened to so many princes, was also abridged to Charles Duke of Berry, who, as well as the Queen of Spain, his sister-in-law, died in May 1714, at the age of twenty-eight. He left a widow of twenty-two, from whom he had suffered a great deal. When removed by death, he was on the point of applying to his grandfather to interpose and deliver him, although not acquainted with all her irregularities. ' In her early youth, this Princess
' was gross and overgrown, but after marriage
' became handsome. She grew tall, but not
' graceful, and there was always something
' wild in her eyes, which gave a bad idea of
' the qualities of her mind. She had the gift of
' speech, not in a less degree than her father
' and mother. Great readiness in saying what
' she chose, how she chose, with a precision and
' elegance, which at once charmed and surpris-
' ed those who heard. Timid with respect to
' trifles; for matters of consequence, she was
' frightfully bold, on some occasions foolishly
' haughty; she was on others, meanly submis-
' five.

‘ five. She must, in short, be allowed to have
 ‘ been a compound of all the vices ; and her
 ‘ superiority of understanding and address, ren-
 ‘ dered her peculiarly formidable. In proof of
 ‘ this assertion,’ says St Simon, ‘ I may appeal
 ‘ to her endeavours to embroil her husband
 ‘ with his brother the Dauphin ; her ingratitude
 ‘ to the Dauphiness, to whom she was obliged
 ‘ for her marriage ; her contemptuous carriage
 ‘ to her mother, whom, as an illegitimate Prin-
 ‘ cess, she thought her inferior ; the mortifica-
 ‘ tions which her mother, haughty as she was,
 ‘ patiently endured from her, for peace’s sake ;
 ‘ her contempt for her husband, and affectation
 ‘ of uniformly contradicting him ; her valuing
 ‘ herself on unvaried falsehood, and superior
 ‘ skill in the arts of deceit, in which, to say the
 ‘ truth, she was astonishingly well skilled.

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‘ Affairs of gallantry, which, in so elevated a
 ‘ rank, are not easily conducted with sufficient
 ‘ secrecy, did not at all embarrass her. Between
 ‘ address and effrontery, she was never at a loss.
 ‘ Her adventure with a person of the name of
 ‘ la Haie, which is indeed almost incredible,
 ‘ may serve as an instance of her total disregard
 ‘ to decency. He was a tall man, dry in his
 ‘ manners, stiff in his figure, his face blotched ;
 ‘ destitute of wit, but a horseman : For his ta-
 ‘ lents in horsemanship, the Princess raised him
 ‘ rapidly to be master of horse to her husband.
 ‘ It concealed that it was to gratify her inclina-
 ‘ tions

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‘ tions she had done this. Her fondness for
 ‘ him was displayed even in the salloon at Mar-
 ‘ ly : Every body saw it. But either not find-
 ‘ ing herself enough at liberty, or in the extra-
 ‘ vagance of her licentiousness, she would have
 ‘ la Haie to carry her off from Versailles, while
 ‘ the Duke of Berry and the King were still a-
 ‘ live, and in full health, and to retire to Hol-
 ‘ land. At the proposal la Haie was almost pe-
 ‘ trified. She began to despair of prevailing
 ‘ with him ; and, between rage and tenderness,
 ‘ tears, and reproaches, carried her extravagance
 ‘ to such a pitch as to alarm him, lest she should
 ‘ commit some piece of madness, which might
 ‘ be imputed to him. He used means to let the
 ‘ Duke of Orleans know his embarrassing situa-
 ‘ tion. It was by no means easy to adopt pro-
 ‘ per measures. Were la Haie to disappear
 ‘ suddenly, what would the Duke of Berry
 ‘ think ? or what would the world say ? They
 ‘ determined to have patience. The Dutchess
 ‘ became weary of an unsuccessful persecution,
 ‘ and ceased to torment the object of her pas-
 ‘ sion ; but her guilty flame remained unextin-
 ‘ guished, and continued to glow even after she
 ‘ became a widow.’

Such was the only lady who now remained to
 maintain the dignity of Lewis’s Court. It was
 enlarged indeed by the marriage of the Duke of
 Bourbon, with Mademoiselle de Conti, and of
 the Prince of Conti with Mademoiselle de Bour-
 bon.

bon. But these young pairs, who were scarce above the years of infancy, could afford but little social entertainment to Lewis at the age of seventy-six, and Madame de Maintenon at seventy-nine. As an addition, therefore, to their scanty society, she contrived to have the Duke of Villeroy recalled to Court.

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‘ Since his last return from Flanders, Marshal
‘ Villeroy had languished out his life, sometimes
‘ at Paris, sometimes at Villeroy; and, being
‘ intimidated by the silence and dryness of the
‘ King, and the uneasiness which he always felt
‘ in his presence, appeared seldom at Versailles,
‘ and never at Marly. But he kept up a secret
‘ correspondence with Madame de Maintenon,
‘ and visited her whenever he went to Court.
‘ She, no doubt, despaired of having him recalled.
‘ With this view, she sometimes ventured
‘ to name him to the King, and even to shew
‘ his Majesty the letters which she received from
‘ him, when they contained any thing interesting.
‘ No happier occasion than the present
‘ could arise for re-establishing him in the royal
‘ favour; he was the very man wanted. He had
‘ been brought up with the King at Court, and
‘ in the army had been constantly with him,
‘ and the confident of all his pleasures. They
‘ could entertain one another with a thousand
‘ tales of the adventures and intrigues of their
‘ youth; the recollection of which amuses, at
‘ least the imagination of old people. Villeroy

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‘ was

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‘ was still fond of diversions and festivals, talked
 ‘ of fashions, shews, and hunting, and was a pas-
 ‘ sionate admirer of music,—was, in short, a
 ‘ character formed for an entertaining compa-
 ‘ nion.

‘ Besides, Madame de Maintenon knew, that
 ‘ she should not risk her own credit by advan-
 ‘ cing Villeroy’s. He was her old friend, had
 ‘ been always her friend, and she was sure of
 ‘ his entering into all her views. Those about
 ‘ Court, to whom these circumstances were
 ‘ known, were not at all surprised to see the
 ‘ Duke de Villeroy appear at Marly, immediate-
 ‘ ly after the death of Dauphin, or to see the
 ‘ King receive him with all the cordiality and
 ‘ joy, consistent with the occasion. From that
 ‘ time forward he was better treated by Lewis,
 ‘ than he had ever been before, openly received
 ‘ by Madame de Maintenon, almost always the
 ‘ third in private parties with her and the King;
 ‘ in consequence of which it was conjectured,
 ‘ that he was the chief adviser of the settle-
 ‘ ments which Lewis then made with respect
 ‘ to his family and kingdom.’

Testament
 of Lewis
 XIV.

We have seen that the King, in 1710, extend-
 ed to the children of the Duke of Maine and
 the Count of Toulouse, the privilege before
 granted to their fathers, of ranking immediately
 after the Princes of the Blood, and above all
 the Dukes and Peers *. This privilege, as has
 been

* Reboulet, t. 9. p. 272.—Avrigny, t. 5. p. 313.—St Si-
 mon, t. 2.

been observed, gave offence to the Dauphin; the Dukes and Peers signified their dissatisfaction; the public murmured, and Lewis was almost prevailed on by the general disapprobation, to retract what he had done. Yet this did not hinder him from issuing, in August 1714, two edicts, the one wholly in favour of the legitimated Princes; the other, which accompanied his will, conferring signal favours on the Duke of Maine in particular. The mode in which those favours were obtained, affords a lesson to private persons, as well as to monarchs sinking under the imbecillity of age.

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Lewis could not reflect on the disastrous events of his reign, especially of the latter part, without feeling suspicions arise which must have given him great uneasiness. There could be no doubt but his sister-in-law, Henrietta of England, had been poisoned, nor that his niece, Henrietta's daughter, had perished in the same manner. The affair of Voisin, in which so many persons belonging to the Court were involved, must have affected him with anxiety and alarm, although none were openly convicted of guilt; for kings are privy to so many crimes! Lastly, the sudden death of the Dauphin, the Dauphiness, and one of their children, the dangerous illness of the other, the opinions of the public, the suspicions that arose on succeeding occasions, the death of the Duke of Berry and the Queen of Spain, naturally renewed and add-

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ed to the former impressions; and if the Monarch was not absolutely convinced, that a hellish conspiracy had been formed to extirpate his family, he at least suspected as much.

Of the authors and accomplices he was uncertain. He regarded his nephew, the Duke of Orleans, as an enterprising and desperate character, regardless of all moral obligation,—in a word, as a man who made his boast of every species of vices; yet, he did not think him a determined villain. None, however, but this Prince could be a gainer by such a series of deaths, in consequence of which there remained only an infant between him and the throne. It would have been imprudent, therefore, to leave to him the entire and absolute disposal of that child. But even while adopting the precautions suggested to him, the Monarch was sensible of their fatality, and no doubt penetrated into the selfish views of those who recommended them.

The chief promoters of these measures were the Duke and Dutches of Maine. The Dutches, especially, could not bear the thought of becoming inferior to the Dutches of Orleans, her sister; and so much was she affected by this sentiment, that she blushed to produce her children in public, while under the stain of bastardy. It was resolved, therefore, to create them Princes of the Blood, and to vest them with all the privileges of this rank, that of succeeding to the

the Crown not excepted ; after the last, indeed, PART III.
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of the lawful Princes, and all their posterity. Madame de Maintenon powerfully seconded a project so favourable to her old pupil ; and it must be confessed, that few in his situation would have been able to resist the arts used to obtain the consent of the old Monarch.

They addressed themselves to his parental tenderness, and to the idea which he fondly cherished, of being able to effect any thing by his influence over his subjects. He had always entertained peculiar tenderness for those of his children who were, by the laws, reduced to a condition so inferior to that of his lawful descendants. He was therefore not ill pleased to have the means suggested, of placing the former more upon an equality with the latter.

‘ About this time, Father Daniel published his History of France. As it appeared at so seasonable a juncture, and the author was liberally recompensed, it was thought to have been composed by particular command. He excelled in the art of confounding, where he did not chuse to enlighten the mind of his reader. In treating of delicate subjects, the affairs of the League, the pretences of the Court of Rome, and such others, *it was pleasant,*’ says St Simon, *‘ to see how dexterously he slid over the ice, with his Jesuit skates.* But what most remarkably distinguishes this work is, that with an air of discernment and candour, the

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‘ author, while he seems to have no object but
 ‘ to investigate and unfold the truth, insinuates,
 ‘ that most of the Kings of the first race, many
 ‘ of those of the second, and even several of those
 ‘ of the third, were bastards, and bastards begot-
 ‘ ten in adultery, nay, sometimes in double a-
 ‘ dultery ; and that this circumstance alone was
 ‘ never considered as a reason for excluding them
 ‘ from the throne.’ The inference was easily
 drawn, and was so often repeated to the King,
 that he could not refuse granting a favour, of
 which there had been so many precedents, and
 to grant which, appeared a privilege of royal-
 ty.

This idea of the sovereign authority was, no
 doubt, very generally received at Court, as ju-
 stified by the records of history. The Princess
 d’Harcourt wrote on this occasion to Madame
 de Maintenon : ‘ Ignorant as I am, I know that
 ‘ his Majesty has only followed the example of
 ‘ the first Christian King. Clovis, the founder
 ‘ of this monarchy was much inferior to him ;
 ‘ and yet, on a similar occasion, did more.’
 The Dutchess of Maine was quite transported
 with joy. ‘ Ah ! Madam,’ writes she to her
 Patroness, ‘ what miracles the King can work !
 ‘ I know, I feel the importance of the favour
 ‘ which he has deigned to confer on my fami-
 ‘ ly. My children will share my gratitude. I
 ‘ need not now be ashamed to shew them in
 ‘ public.’

But

But the worker of wonders was not convinced himself of the validity of his deed. 'It was your desire,' said he one day to the Duke of Maine, with a discontented air, 'It was your desire. Take care yourself not to dwindle to nothing after my death, since I have made you great in my lifetime. Give validity to my deed, if you can.' When Lewis sent for the first President, and the Crown lawyers, to put the edict into their hands, as he explained his intentions, he offered an apology; they replied, 'Sire, an act of this nature regards a matter of such dignity, and so great consequence, that we cannot doubt but your Majesty has made all the reflections upon it which your profound wisdom can inspire.' The style of compliment, on such an occasion, is far from being the voice of approbation; yet there was no opposition made. The Duke of Orleans had been so branded by suspicion, that he durst not remonstrate. The other Princes were all too young; and the chief nobility having no body to appear at their head, did not venture to express any dissatisfaction.

But to have obtained those privileges, notwithstanding the King's unwillingness to grant them, was not enough. Means were also to be procured, by which they might be defended, in case of being attacked. None better could be thought of than a will, conferring an authority and powers adequate to counterbalance those of

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the Regent, the only person to be feared. The same teasing arts which had been before employed upon the old man were renewed, and even with greater urgency and assiduity, as his resistance was more obstinate.

The chancellor being no stranger to these circumstances, and wishing not to be involved in a disagreeable quarrel with any party, at the King's death, had resigned his office. It was given to Voisin, who was implicitly devoted to Madame de Maintenon and the Duke of Maine. He was employed to break the ice with Lewis, and remonstrate with him on the necessity of his making a will, to preserve the tranquillity of his kingdom, and which, for the security of his great-grandson, might check the authority of the Regent. ' He laboured with no less perseverance than secrecy, ' to undermine the fort. But, with all his skill, ' found the attack directed against a rock which ' baffled every effort. When insinuation was ' found ineffectual, a different mode of operation was had recourse to. Hitherto Madame ' de Maintenon, and her pupil, had striven solely to please the King, to amuse him, each in a ' different way, to prevent his wishes, to flatter, ' to adore him. After the death of the Dauphiness, they had redoubled their attentions, ' and were become almost his only society. ' When they could not bring him to gratify ' their wishes, they determined to force his ' consent; and knowing that his infirmities, ' and

‘ and the influence of habit, rendered them ne-
 ‘ cessary to him, and secured them from dis-
 ‘ grace, they assumed a different tone from that
 ‘ which they had hitherto held. They became
 ‘ both serious, frequently sullen and silent;
 ‘ made no answers to his conversation, unless a
 ‘ question were directly put; and even then re-
 ‘ plied only in monosyllables. The King’s age and
 ‘ character hindered him from going elsewhere,
 ‘ in search of amusement: He spent still as much
 ‘ of his time as ever, within; it was still the
 ‘ same round of music, play, and conversation;
 ‘ and this gloomy silence was the more cruel,
 ‘ as it was what he had never been accustomed
 ‘ to.

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‘ The ladies d’O, de Caylus, de Dangeau,
 ‘ de Levy, de St Simon, Madame de Mainte-
 ‘ non’s ordinary companions, not being in the
 ‘ secret, tried at first to laugh her out of her as-
 ‘ sumed melancholy. They at first thought the
 ‘ gloom which had overcast her temper owing
 ‘ to ill health. But when they saw in her coun-
 ‘ tenance no appearance of indisposition, and
 ‘ observed her ordinary plan of life no way de-
 ‘ ranged, they began to fear every one some se-
 ‘ cret prejudice against herself; and these fears
 ‘ contributed still more than Madame de Main-
 ‘ tenon’s reserve and example, to render them
 ‘ dull company. In the parties, in which the
 ‘ Duke of Maine passed his time when he was
 ‘ not with the King, there was no resource for
 ‘ amusement,

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‘ amusement, but stories of the success of hunt-
 ‘ ing parties at Rambouillet, by the Count of
 ‘ Toulouse, who was far from entertaining, and
 ‘ tales by some of the principal domestics, who
 ‘ became less solicitous to offer them, when they
 ‘ saw that the Duke of Maine did not encourage
 ‘ them, as usual. Thus the King found himself
 ‘ involved in a cloud of gloom, which continued
 ‘ to thicken around him, till it cleared up all at
 ‘ once ; and, by putting different circumstances
 ‘ together, this agreeable and surprising change
 ‘ was then judged to have been owing to the exe-
 ‘ cution of the will.’

‘ Lewis by this will, instituted a Council of
 ‘ Regency, to consist of the Duke of Orleans,
 ‘ President, the Duke of Bourbon to be admit-
 ‘ ted when he should have completed his twen-
 ‘ fourth year, the Duke of Maine, the Count of
 ‘ Toulouse, the Chancellor, Marshals Villeroy,
 ‘ Tallard, Harcourt, the four Secretaries of
 ‘ State, and the Comptroller-General. In this
 ‘ Council every thing was to be determined by
 ‘ a majority of votes. The President was to
 ‘ have only a casting vote, when the suffrages
 ‘ on both sides were equal. The young King’s
 ‘ person was to be intrusted to the guardianship
 ‘ of the Council of Regency, and the Duke of
 ‘ Maine was to superintend his education and
 ‘ personal safety, with full power over the offi-
 ‘ cers of the Royal Guards. Failing the Duke
 ‘ of Maine, the Count of Toulouse was to act in
 ‘ his

‘ his stead. Marshal Villeroy was nominated
 ‘ sub-governor under the Duke of Maine.’ Thus
 Lewis gave nothing to the Duke of Orleans,
 but what he could not withhold, and adopted
 some precautions rather disgraceful to his ne-
 phew.

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A hole was opened in a tower of the palace behind the presence-chamber, and in it was the will deposited, under the security of an iron door with three locks, of the keys of which one was given to the first President, one to the Attorney-General, and the third to the Lord Register. By an edict accompanying it, the will was directed to be opened after the King’s death, in the presence of the whole Parliament, the Princes and Peers assembled. Lewis, as he put it into the hands of the first President, uttered these words, sufficiently expressive of the teasing and constraint by which he had been forced upon the measure. “ There is my will. What hap-
 “ pened in the case of my father, and others of
 “ my predecessors, leaves me at no loss to see
 “ what may also happen on this occasion. But I
 “ have been urged and tormented; I could obtain
 “ neither peace nor rest till it was made. At
 “ this price I have purchased tranquillity. Take
 “ it ; lay it up ; it will have what effect it may ;
 “ but I shall at least be no longer troubled a-
 “ bout it.’ He repeated the same things, near-
 ‘ ly in the same words, to the Queen of England,
 ‘ in the presence of Madame de Maintenon,
 ‘ looking

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‘ looking on the latter lady, while he spoke, with
‘ a stern and angry air *.’—St Simon had these
particulars from the first President himself, and
from the Duke and Dutchess of Lauzun, to
whom the Queen of England repeated what was
said to her.

The King sent also to the Parliament two co-
dicils, containing some particular dispositions,
and, among others, the nomination of a Precep-
tor to his successor. Artifices might also have
been employed to raise to this office Andrew
Hercules de Fleury, for whom, we have seen,
Lewis had such an aversion: But artifices were
no longer necessary with the Monarch, he now
easily suffered himself to be led. In affairs of
conscience and religion, Father Tellier rather
commanded than directed him; and he was the
person to be imposed upon. It may be presu-
med, that the Confessor would have wished to
raise to that place, a man of an active impetuous
character like himself, who might instil into his
pupil principles of intolerance, and bring him
up in sentiments of invincible hatred against the
Jansenists. But Fleury was more of a courtier
than a zealot. He left the Jansenists in his dio-
cese at peace. In conversation he sometimes
did not scruple to blame the severity with
which they were treated; and he was not rec-
koned a warm friend to the Jesuits. It was this
indifference that made his fortune.

‘ Madame

* St Simon, t. 2. p. 83.

' Madame de Maintenon and the Duke of PART III.
 ' Villeroy did not love them more than he; and 1714-15.
 ' the Duke of Maine knew too much of them,
 ' to accept from their hands a Preceptor who
 ' would be instructed to thwart him, and at
 ' times openly supported against him. As in
 ' this instance, they had the disposal of the
 ' King's will, through his Confessor, it became
 ' requisite to offer them a man whom they
 ' might regard as at least attached to their opi-
 ' nions, if not devoted to the society, and pre-
 ' sent him as such to Lewis. The Ladies de Dan-
 ' geau and de Levy, whom Fleury had capti-
 ' vated by the charms of his conversation, his
 ' obliging manners, and pliability of sentiments,
 ' introduced him to the Dutchess of Maine. It
 ' was agreed, that he should be proposed for the
 ' Preceptor, and the measures which he was to
 ' use were concerted, that he might not meet
 ' with a refusal, on pretext that it was necessary
 ' for him to reside on his bishoprick. Fleury
 ' begged leave to resign it, because the air was
 ' unfavourable to his constitution. Tellier, with
 ' all his shrewdness, did not discern his purpose
 ' in this. He saw only a bishoprick for one of
 ' his creatures, for which he thought to make a
 ' good bargain, by giving only a trifling Abbey
 ' in exchange. The Abbey of Tournus being
 ' vacant, the Confessor made offer of it. The
 ' Bishop did not haggle for a better. For the
 ' last months of his Episcopal sway, the Prelate,
 ' who

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‘ who had been till then so tolerant, made a
‘ shew of seeking out the Jansenists in his dio-
‘ cese, laying his interdict on their confessors,
‘ and harassing the few nuns of that character
‘ within his jurisdiction. However, as all that
‘ he wanted was to make a noise, he did little
‘ harm ; and took his farewell with fulminating
‘ out a mandate against the Jansenists, the thun-
‘ der of which was heard through all quarters.
‘ His friends failed not to make the most of it
‘ at Court, and the Jesuits had no reply to make
‘ when so orthodox a man was proposed. Tel-
‘ lier raised some difficulties; but at last became
‘ afraid of drawing all the Duke of Maine’s par-
‘ ty upon his shoulders, if he did not bring
‘ Lewis to agree ;—and Fleury was nomi-
‘ nated.’

The mandate, composed merely to serve an occasion, produced effects which had not been foreseen. ‘ It fell into the hands of the famous
‘ Father Quesnel ; and he, piqued at the tone
‘ which the new antagonist assumed, introduced
‘ his mandate into one of his productions, and
‘ ridiculed it with the bitterest and most con-
‘ temptuous irony. Fleury,’ says St Simon,
‘ with his gentle, smiling, and modest air, was,
‘ at the same time, the haughtiest and most vin-
‘ dictive man I have ever known. He never
‘ forgave Father Quesnel or his adherents ; and
‘ Lewis thus unintentionally raised up an enemy
‘ to the Jansenists, fully qualified to enforce all
‘ that

‘ that he did against them himself, in the latter
‘ part of his life.’

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Causes of
the troubles of the
church.

In tracing the causes of certain events, we often find personal resentment and private interest giving rise to effects of a more general operation. Thus, if we may believe St Simon *, it was to create a diversion to the murmurs and noise raised against the looseness of their morality, that the Jesuits excited the clamours against the Jansenists, and confirmed them by the condemnation of Father Quesnel. It was, likewise, according to the same author, the hatred of Father Tellier to Cardinal Noailles, his passionate desire to humble, to disgrace, even to depose him, if possible, from his see, that prompted the Confessor to fabricate so many dark plots, to arm most of the Bishops against the Archbishop, and to excite troubles in the Gallican church. Nay, this imperious Confessor was within a little of abusing his ascendancy over his penitent so far, as to obtain an order which would have rendered the vengeance of the Jesuits complete, and inevitably ruined the Archbishop.

‘ The affair of the constitution was then the
‘ great and important concern ;—the women
‘ intermeddled. It occupied every circle, and
‘ was the topic of general conversation. The
‘ great supports of the anticonstitutional party
‘ at

Cardinal
Noailles
and Made-
moiselle de
la Cauffe-
raye.

* St Simon, t. 6. p. 30.

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‘ at Court, were, after Father Tellier, the Car-
 ‘ dinals Rohan and Bissy. Bissy was a favourite
 ‘ with Lewis, with whom he was believed to be
 ‘ connected by ties which still retained their in-
 ‘ fluence over the Monarch. Thiard de Bissy
 ‘ had been advanced under the patronage of
 ‘ Madame de Maintenon, to whom he had been
 ‘ introduced by Godet des Marais, as the man-
 ‘ tle of Elijah fell to Elisha. He was thought
 ‘ to have views on the Archbishoprick of Paris,
 ‘ and Rohan on the numerous benefices which
 ‘ he believed to be still in the disposal of the Je-
 ‘ suits.

‘ The resolutions of the Council were gene-
 ‘ rally immediately reported to the company at
 ‘ the Dutchess of Ventadour’s, who was Go-
 ‘ verness to the Dauphin, on whom the Duke
 ‘ of Rohan paid constant attendance, while his
 ‘ brother, the Cardinal, was also extremely affi-
 ‘ duous. None was under any constraint there;
 ‘ projects and enterprises were unfolded with
 ‘ full freedom. There was an important project
 ‘ in contemplation; to obtain an order from the
 ‘ King for arresting Cardinal Noailles when he
 ‘ went to Conflans, and sending him directly to
 ‘ Rome. The Pope waited only for that, to
 ‘ depose and divest him of the purple. With-
 ‘ out this previous measure, notwithstanding all
 ‘ that Tellier, Bissy, and Rohan could do to de-
 ‘ termine his Holiness, he durst undertake nei-
 ‘ ther the one nor the other. The train was
 ‘ laid;

‘ laid ; nothing remained but to kindle it ; and
 ‘ Tellier, the principal agent, had already be-
 ‘ gun to speak of the matter to the King.

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‘ The whole was talked over at Madame de
 ‘ Ventadour’s, in the presence of Mademoiselle
 ‘ de Chauſſeraye, a Lady of mean birth, in com-
 ‘ parison with the company ſhe aſſociated with ;
 ‘ a ſort of humble companion, who was thought
 ‘ highly honoured in being admitted into ſuch
 ‘ company, was conſidered as a perſon of no
 ‘ conſequence, and nothing concealed in her
 ‘ preſence. Yet this young woman was in fa-
 ‘ miliar intimacy with the King, although no-
 ‘ body knew whence it aroſe. He often wrote
 ‘ to her, and cauſed her to viſit him at Ver-
 ‘ failles. Blouin, confidential Valet de Cham-
 ‘ bre, was the perſon who conveyed the letters
 ‘ and meſſages between them ; and he it was
 ‘ who introduced her by a back-door, with the
 ‘ greateſt ſecrecy. Lewis was much pleaſed
 ‘ with the entertaining converſation of this girl.
 ‘ She knew how to conceal her talents, to act
 ‘ the ſimpleton, and to appear perfectly in-
 ‘ different in regard both to perſons and
 ‘ things. By this artifice, ſhe induced his
 ‘ Majeſty to lay aſide conſtraint in her pre-
 ‘ ſence, to ſpeak to her confidentially of every
 ‘ thing, and even to liſten to her advice. Yet
 ‘ ſhe was far from indifferent in the caſe of Car-
 ‘ dinal Noailles. She was ſhocked at the plots
 ‘ formed to ruin him. Immediately after hear-

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‘ ing

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‘ ing the project concerted in her presence at
 ‘ Madame de Ventadour’s, before the means for
 ‘ carrying it into execution were resolved upon,
 ‘ she had warned the Archbishop to keep within
 ‘ Paris, where he was adored, and would be
 ‘ protected by the people from any attempt to
 ‘ carry him off.

‘ It happened providentially, that on the very
 ‘ day on which Father Tellier broached this mat-
 ‘ ter to the King, Mademoiselle de la Chaufferaye
 ‘ was sent for to wait on the Monarch. He ap-
 ‘ peared pensive and thoughtful. She observed
 ‘ that he looked ill, and affected to be in con-
 ‘ cern for his health. The King, without men-
 ‘ tioning the proposed taking up of the Arch-
 ‘ bishop, replied, ‘ I am, indeed, very uneasy
 “ about the affair of the constitution. Mea-
 “ sures have been proposed which I can hardly
 “ bring myself to resolve upon. I have dispu-
 “ ted about them all the morning. They tease
 “ me, one after another, on the same topics,
 “ and give me no rest.’ ‘ You are very good,
 “ indeed,’ replied the fly Chaufferaye, ‘ to suf-
 “ fer them to torment you in any such manner.
 “ Provided they can obtain their ends, they
 “ care nothing about your Majesty’s health.
 “ Were I in your room, Sire, I would hold by
 “ what I had done. I would consult my own
 “ quiet, and leave them to dispute as much as
 “ they thought proper, without intermeddling
 “ or concerning myself so as to be uneasy, or to
 “ injure

“ injure my health, as is but too plain from
 “ your looks, that you have done. I, for my
 “ part, neither understand, nor desire to under-
 “ stand, any thing of those school-questions. I
 “ am as little interested on the one side as on
 “ the other. All my anxiety is about your life,
 “ which you are shortening, and which there
 “ is no way for you to prolong, but by leaving
 “ them to contest it as long as they please, with-
 “ out troubling or perplexing yourself more
 “ about their squabbles.’

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‘ She said all this with such an air of simpli-
 ‘ city and total indifference to both parties, and
 ‘ of sincere regard for the King’s welfare, that
 ‘ he replied, ‘ You are right; I will follow your
 “ advice: Those people would absolutely kill
 “ me; I will begin to-morrow with forbidding
 “ them to make any more mention of a thing
 “ which they have proposed to me, and which
 “ gives me extreme uneasiness. They dwell
 “ for ever upon it. They have almost prevailed
 “ with me to consent. But, to-morrow, I will
 “ shut their mouths on the subject.’ La Chau-
 ‘ feraye, without indicating any wish to know
 ‘ the secret which the King only half told her,
 ‘ but which she knew as well as he, confirmed
 ‘ him in his resolution, piqued him on the idea
 ‘ of his being the dupe and the victim of people
 ‘ who sought only to serve themselves; in short,
 ‘ made the King repeat his promise in stronger
 ‘ terms, and execute next day what her conversa-

PART III. ' tion had determined him to ; and when she left
 1714-15. ' him, he said, ' You may look on the matter as
 " broken off ; I shall speak so pointedly, that
 " they will not presume to importune me far-
 " ther.'

' La Chauſſeraye went, immediately after
 ' leaving the King, to ſpend the evening with
 ' Madame de Ventadour. There ſhe ſaw joy
 ' in every countenance. She ſupped, joined a
 ' party at play for ſome time, and retired as
 ' ſoon as ſhe well could. Next morning ſhe
 ' took a poſt-chaife, and drove to Paris, alighted
 ' near the cathedral, went through the church
 ' into a private apartment in the Archiepiſcopal
 ' palace, whence ſhe ſent notice to the Cardinal,
 ' who came down to her by a back-ſtair. In
 ' the ſpace of a quarter of an hour, ſhe rela-
 ' ted to him her adventure on the preceding
 ' evening, returned to her carriage, appeared
 ' again at Verſailles, as if ſhe had not been
 ' gone, dined with Madame de Ventadour, and
 ' paſſed the afternoon there, with a view to diſ-
 ' cern by the looks or converſation of the people
 ' about that Lady, whether the King had kept
 ' his word with her. At a late hour in the
 ' evening, appears the Prince de Rohan with
 ' an air of conſternation. He took the Dutch-
 ' eſs apart ; and in a few moments converſation
 ' communicated the ſame ſadneſs to her. He
 ' refuſed to play ; but retired to a corner of the
 ' room, and ſat in a muſing attitude.

' La

‘ La Chaufferaye, who, with a fide glance,
 ‘ observed what was going on, and was inwardly
 ‘ pleased, ceased playing, and with an obliging
 ‘ air approached the thoughtful Prince: ‘ I
 “ come,” said she, ‘ to keep you company. Pray
 “ what is the matter? Are you ill? The va-
 “ pours, perhaps! One is sometimes melanco-
 “ ly, without knowing why. ‘ I am sad, no
 “ doubt,” replied Rohan, ‘ but I have good rea-
 “ son. You know the King had given us
 “ ground to hope, that he might be brought to
 “ consent to have the Cardinal taken up yester-
 “ day morning; he was several times on the point
 “ of passing an order to that purpose; and now
 “ he has unexpectedly changed his mind. He this
 “ morning took Father Tellier and my brother
 “ aside, one after another, and told them, that
 “ he had considered again and again what they
 “ had pressed him to, adding, in a tone of au-
 “ thority, *I assure you, I will never consent to it;*
 “ *I forbid you ever to mention it more;* and then
 “ turned his back on them.’ La Chaufferaye
 ‘ pretended surprise, entered into the resentment
 ‘ of the Duke, who railed against the King’s
 ‘ unsteadiness. To discover whether they had
 ‘ entirely dropped their design, she asked him
 ‘ in a friendly way, if there were not still some
 ‘ resource, if his imagination could suggest no
 ‘ expedient.’ ‘ Oh! no,’ replied he, ‘ we must
 “ not even think of it. After the King has re-
 “ fused us in so absolute a tone, to make any

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“ farther attempts, would be to ruin ourselves
 “ to no purpose.—Thus miscarried this detesta-
 “ ble project, through the address and goodness
 “ of heart of Mademoiselle de la Chaufferaye.
 “ She performed many other good offices of a
 “ like nature, while she was never suspected to
 “ interfere, nor ever received any acknowledg-
 “ ments for her services, except from the King.
 “ He gave her, from time to time, orders on the
 “ Royal Treasury, which astonished the Comp-
 “ trollers-General, and rendered her very rich.”

From this anecdote, and from the trouble gi-
 ven him about the will, we may judge what se-
 cret anxieties Lewis suffered in his latter days.
 He, notwithstanding, steered the helm of Go-
 vernment with a firm hand till the close of his
 life. When he felt himself near his end, he
 made efforts above his strength, that the pu-
 blic business might not suffer from his decline.
 He made a splendid appearance on the 4th of
 August, in giving audience to the Persian Am-
 bassador. Never had he been observed to dis-
 play more of the august dignity of Majesty.
 He made new treaties, and renewed old alliances.
 He put all his papers in order, burnt such as he
 wished to conceal, and prescribed several arti-
 cles of ceremonial to the Dauphin. Lastly, He
 flattered himself with imagining that it was still
 in his power to convoke a National Council, to
 re-establish the peace of the Gallican Church,—
 which he regarded as his greatest and most im-
 portant

portant concern. But on the 22d of August, a gangrene broke out upon one of his thighs, with alarming symptoms, from which it was inferred that he had only a few days to live.

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Those few days he appropriated to the solemnities of religion, pious meditation and prayer.

Enquiry
whether he
was a Je-
suit.

‘ Lewis XIV. discovered great serenity of mind
‘ at death. After reigning seventy-two, and
‘ living seventy-seven years ; after the irregu-
‘ larities of the earlier part of his life, the wars
‘ which he had undertaken on slight pretences,
‘ the lives he had sacrificed to his pride and am-
‘ bition, and the oppressive taxes which he had
‘ imposed,—people were surprised at his serenity
‘ at death, and ascribed it to his confidence in
‘ the bold promises of his Confessor. It is pre-
‘ tended that Father Tellier, long before his last
‘ illness, had engaged him to join the society of
‘ Jesus, after boasting loudly to him of the pri-
‘ vileges and plenary indulgence to be thereby
‘ acquired, and persuading him that whatever
‘ crime one might have committed, however
‘ difficult it might be to make reparation, to
‘ profess with the Jesuits was sufficient to
‘ wash away every stain, and secure the sal-
‘ vation of the sinner. The King is said to have
‘ taken the vows in secret before Father Tellier.
‘ He did not assume the habit, but wore an almost
‘ imperceptible sign, a sort of scapulary, which
‘ was found on him after his death. In the last
‘ days of his life, he was heard to comfort and

U +

‘ encourage

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‘ encourage himself with his Confessor with the
 ‘ above promises. The Confessor, in name of
 ‘ the General of the Order, gave him his parting
 ‘ benediction, as to one of the fraternity, and
 ‘ made him repeat forms of prayer, which were
 ‘ in part overheard, and confirmed the opinion
 ‘ of the Monarch’s being a Jesuit.’

But St Simon, while he recites this anecdote, at the same time adds, ‘ I had the curiosity to
 ‘ ask Marechal, the King’s Surgeon, and who
 ‘ was in the greatest intimacy with his Majesty,
 ‘ concerning this fact. Marechal, who was very
 ‘ honest, but no friend to Father Tellier, assured
 ‘ me, he never observed any thing having the
 ‘ least appearance of that, neither forms of
 ‘ prayer, nor benedictions, in any way singular;
 ‘ and it was false, he said, that a scapulary, or
 ‘ any other mark but the relics which he con-
 ‘ stantly wore, was found upon the King after
 ‘ death.’ Trifling as this imputation is, I would
 not omit it, for it has been sometimes objected
 as an instance of weakness in Lewis.

Death of
 Lewis XIV.

This Prince cannot be accused of having expressed no concern for his errors on his deathbed. He lamented the irregularities of his youth, made a public confession of them, asked pardon for the scandal which he had occasioned, reviewed, in bitterness of heart, all the errors of his life, said that he had been too fond of war, exhorted his successor not to follow his example, but to lessen the taxes, and love his subjects.

What

What he most regretted was, that he had not had time since the peace, to put the kingdom into a flourishing state, and leave the nation happy. He died on the 1st of September, after receiving the sacraments. His dying sentiments must induce us to forgive his faults, and render his memory dear to the French.

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His best historians agree that he was little regretted by a part of his subjects*. The excessive weight of the taxes, the alteration of the coin, the troubles of the Church, and the discontent of the Parliament, who, during this long reign, had been treated with little delicacy, all concurred to make the nation long to see his successor on the throne. ' With respect to the Court, ' the general dissatisfaction which had prevailed ' there since the death of the Dauphin and Dauphiness, contributed greatly to lighten the sorrow for the death of the King. The old Noblemen, who had passed their lives with him, and ' the Ladies of his intimate acquaintance, who, ' by his death, lost their credit and the distinctions which they had enjoyed, sincerely lamented him; the rest forming comfortable ' hopes which they were at no pains to conceal. ' His successor was too young to know the value ' of his loss. The Duke of Orleans had little ' reason to regret his uncle. Of his three ' daughters, the Princess of Conti was affected, ' and appeared so. The Dutchess of Bourbon ' continued

* Reboulet, t. 9. p 312. St Simon, t. 6. p. 432.

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‘ continued her usual dissipations, but with some
 ‘ marks of affliction. The Dutchess of Orleans
 ‘ shed some tears, but she had a facility in weep-
 ‘ ing. The Count of Toulouse discovered a fri-
 ‘ gid tranquillity ; and the Duke of Maine, with
 ‘ the air of decent sorrow which he put on, was
 ‘ suspected to have thought more of what he ex-
 ‘ pected to gain in authority, than of what he
 ‘ had lost in point of credit.’

Madame de Maintenon, at the age of eighty, when the feebleness of the body generally impairs the faculties of the mind, seemed to experience a return of strength and faculties, that she might feel the agonies of grief in all their force.
 ‘ Prompted by affection, but repelled by fear,
 ‘ she asked whether she should wait for the last,
 ‘ or spare her feelings so mournful a sight. She
 ‘ thought it would be a shame for her not to
 ‘ close the eyes of the Monarch ; but her cares
 ‘ were now unavailing ; he had lost the use of his
 ‘ senses, and was struggling in the arms of
 ‘ death. She every moment questioned the phy-
 ‘ sicians. Her trembling looks were fixed on
 ‘ his countenance, already overcast with the
 ‘ shades of death. Marshal Villeroy, who wit-
 ‘ nessed her agitation, conjured her to retire.
 “ It is I,” replied she, ‘ who should receive his
 “ last sigh. I have still so much strength and
 “ fortitude.’ He insisted,—she was ready to yield
 ‘ to his remonstrances. ‘ But,’ resumed she,
 “ he still lives ; he may, perhaps, wish to see me.
 “ What,

“ What, if his eyes should look for me in vain
 “ at the last.’ They promised to let her know :
 ‘ She then yielded and set out for St Cyr. ‘ My
 “ grief,’ said she, by the way, ‘ is great, but
 “ calm and placid. I shall often weep, but my
 “ tears will be tears of tenderness ; for, in my
 “ heart, I rejoice that he dies like a Christian.”
 ‘ As she entered St Cyr, she exclaimed, ‘ I shall
 “ now have none but God, and my dear chil-
 “ dren.’ They all appeared before her, and
 ‘ when she saw them, she melted into tears of
 ‘ tenderness, like a mother viewing the pledges
 ‘ of a fond union. She now felt the happiness
 ‘ of having prepared such a retreat, and thus ex-
 ‘ pressed herself to an old friend : ‘ I have seen
 “ the King die as a saint and a hero. I have
 “ forsaken the world, which I never loved, and
 “ am now in the most agreeable retirement. I
 “ wish with all my heart, your situation were as
 “ happy as mine*.”

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Different panegyrists have celebrated the character of Lewis XIV. But none has succeeded better in exhibiting a collective view of his illustrious actions and splendid qualities, and bestowing praise with a candid simplicity, which enhances its value, than he whose words I am going to quote : ‘ This Monarch,’ says he, ‘ had at the head of his armies, Turenne, Condé, Luxembourg, Catinat, Crequi, Boufflers, Montesquieu, Vendôme, and Villars. Duquesne, Tourville, du
 ‘ Guay

* Letter to Madame d’Urfini, 11th Sept. t. i. p. 194.

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‘ Guay-Trouin commanded his fleets. Colbert,
 ‘ Louvois, Torcy, were admitted into his Councils.
 ‘ Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Massillon, explained to him
 ‘ his duties from the pulpit. In his first Parlia-
 ‘ ment, Mole and Lamoignon were first Presi-
 ‘ dents. Talon and d’Aguesseau successively At-
 ‘ torneys-General. His fortifications were raised
 ‘ by Vauban ; his canals opened by Riquet ; his
 ‘ palaces erected by Mansard and Perrault,—and
 ‘ embellished by Pujet, Girardon, le Poussin,
 ‘ le Sueur, and le Brun, his gardens were laid
 ‘ out by le Notre : Corneille, Racine, Moliere,
 ‘ Quinault, la Fontaine, la Bruyere, Boileau,
 ‘ enlightened his mind, and amused his leisure
 ‘ hours : Montausier, Bossuet, Beauvilliers, Fe-
 ‘ nelon, Huet, Flechier, de Fleury, were tutors
 ‘ to his children. Amid this august circle, men
 ‘ of immortal genius, whose abilities he called
 ‘ forth, and rewarded, does Lewis XIV. present
 ‘ himself to the eyes of posterity *.’

* Discourse of the Abbé de Maury, on his reception into
 the French Academy ; January 27. 1785.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS of the COURT

O F

F R A N C E.

P A R T IV.

T H E R E G E N T.

WHEN the death of Lewis XIV. drew near, his Testament was a subject of anxiety to those about him. The Duke of Orleans, and the Duke of Maine were the persons the most interested to know its purport. From the credit enjoyed by the latter in the last period of the Monarch's life, it might be inferred, that the dispositions of this deed were not unknown to him. However, a confidant of the Dutches of Maine's has asserted, that neither she nor her husband knew any thing of the matter.

Last will
of Lewis
XIV.

That Princess, it is true, when the King's life drew near a close, being sensible of what consequence it was to the legitimated Princes to know how their father had ordered affairs in his will,
advised

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advised her husband to beg Madame de Maintenon to prevail with his Majesty to communicate it, that they might take the necessary steps. That Lady long hesitated to ask this favour of the King, for fear of displeasing him. At last she yielded to the sollicitations of her pupil. But the Monarch, notwithstanding his tenderness for those favourite children, refused to give them this satisfaction, save on the condition of their revealing the articles communicated to no other person, by which they would have been precluded from deriving any advantage from the communication. This obligation to inviolable secrecy, and the consequent inaction to which it confined them, would, they thought, render the favour absolutely useless; and they, therefore, refused it.

This was a capital blunder, of which the Princes became sensible when it was too late. They then sought means to repair it; and, in a meeting of their friends, in which the affair was discussed, it was agreed, that since they could not now recover what they had so imprudently rejected, they should ask his Majesty to communicate, if not the whole, yet, at least, the most important article. This article was suggested by the Count of Toulouse to be, whether his Majesty recalled the King of Spain to the succession. The King assured them, that he did not. They thence concluded, that all power was to be transferred into the hands of the Duke of Orleans.

There

There was still time for them to avail themselves of the discovery, by forming an intimate connection with that Prince.

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They would have found him ready to meet their advances. For, in his uncertainty concerning what measures might be taken against him, he made some steps towards an union with them, and went even so far as to let them understand, that he should not be averse to give his daughter Mademoiselle de Valois in marriage to the Prince de Dombes. But, being more struck with some small inconveniences, than with the great advantages attending such an alliance, they slighted it, or, at least, did not use sufficient pains to obtain the consent of the King, to whom it was not agreeable. To this piece of misconduct they added another. They let the Duke of Orleans know the article of the will which had been communicated to them, with a view seemingly to make a merit of it with him; and, without reflecting that, by this act of indiscretion, they enabled him to avail himself of the discovery, at their expence.

As the decline of the King's health came to give a nearer prospect of his loss, the Dutches of Maine became more uneasy. She saw Madame de Maintenon frequently, pressed her to communicate the whole of the testament, and to entreat the King, before it was too late, to adopt certain measures which she suggested, in order to confirm and give efficacy to what he had done
in

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in favour of the legitimated Princes. Madame de Maintenon, for fear of vexing and disturbing the King, would not second the wishes of the Dutchess, so far as to make the proposal. It was of himself and unsolicited, that the Monarch, when almost expiring, let the Duke of Maine know all the dispositions which he had made. It was vain for the Duke to represent the inconveniences he was likely to suffer from what the King had done for him,—that he had given him too much authority not to offend the Duke of Orleans, and too little to enable him to withstand the resentment of that Prince. His remonstrances were to no purpose, the King left things as they then stood.

In fact, disposed as the King was to serve his son, the Duke of Maine, it will be allowed, that he took very unsuitable measures. He might have foreseen, that the trammels in which he entangled his nephew, by subjecting him to a Council of Regency, would only serve to raise his indignation; that he would not fail to use all possible means to free himself from controul; that the military force entrusted to the Duke of Maine would be the cause of hatred and destructive rivalry among relations; and that to give efficacy to the dispositions of his will, he should have established the Council of Regency during his lifetime, and made them act under his eye. In a word, he should have set the machine of Government, to go as it was to continue to
move

move after his death, and have so regulated every thing, that, in the event of his decease, it might have continued to obey the impulse which he had given it. For want of such precautions, although even these would perhaps have been insufficient, the edifice which Lewis had erected by his will, was, as he had himself foreseen, overturned by the very first assault.

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On the next day after his death, which was the 2d of September, the Duke of Orleans appeared at ten in the morning in Parliament, accompanied by the Princes and Peers, and a train of attendants in arms, sufficient to direct the deliberations of that Assembly by fear, if they should not be manageable by address. Madame de Staal remarks, that the Prince, 'who was lavish of his promises, but set no value by them, had gained the Nobles, by engaging to gratify all their wishes when he became master, and had secured the Parliament by the same arts.' As soon as the Assembly was constituted, he, in a few words, represented his right to the Regency, asserting, that it could not even be called in question; which was the same thing as declaring himself Regent; and he was actually declared before the opening of the testament. In the warmth of his joy at such sudden and entire success, he dropped some promises which were certainly more than he meant to fulfil. One of his creatures, a person of shrewdness and sagacity, who was among the surrounding croud, coolly observing what went on, transmitted a billet with

The Duke
of Orleans
declared
Regent.

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these words: 'You are undone, if you break
' not up the meeting.' He took the advice, and
adjourned the Assembly till the afternoon.

The testament was then opened, and the Parliament were much surprised to find, that he whom they had declared Regent, was only nominated President of a Council of Regency. 'At every article, the First President de Mesmes, who was strongly attached to the Duke of Maine, exclaimed, 'Hear, gentlemen; mark; "this is our law:'. But the body of the Parliament were not of the same mind. Almost every clause of the pretended law was nullified. It mentioned no Regent,—but a Regent was appointed. The Duke of Orleans was to preside in the Council; but the Duke of Bourbon, only three and twenty years of age, was appointed to that office in his stead. The Council was, by the will, to fill up of itself any vacancies that might fall in its number, by the death or retirement of any of its members; but the Regent was now empowered to enlarge or reduce the number at pleasure. The care of the King's education, the protection of his person, and the command of the household, had been intrusted to the Duke of Maine. But the command was now transferred to the Duke of Bourbon, as Grand Master; and only the command of the ordinary Guard left to the Duke of Maine; and even that under the authority of the Regent. This he refused, and would only undertake to superintend the young King's education.

Having

Having thus happily surmounted the first difficulty, the Regent formed seven Councils, with names expressive of the departments of public business which they were intended to manage; the Councils of Regency, of Admiralty, of War, of Revenue, of Foreign Affairs, and of Domestic Affairs,—and a Council of Conscience, to regulate all matters relative to religion, and to nominate to vacant benefices. On the 12th of September, he brought the young King to Parliament, to hold a bed of justice, for the registration and publication of all the above acts.

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New administration.

Not that such a number of changes so rapidly effected, were universally approved. Marshal Villars, although nominated President of the Council of War, remonstrated, that ‘ the constitution was in danger of being subverted by a new administration; and that, if changes were requisite, they should have been effected by slow degrees; nothing but what was undeniably bad taken away, and something better gradually substituted in its place.’

But it was of consequence to the Regent to impress the people at the first with a favourable idea of his government, and he accomplished his purpose, partly by the institution of these Councils, the members of which were chosen out of the different orders of the State, and were mostly men of popular characters,—partly by other changes, new establishments, and schemes which gained the approbation of the nation.

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He restored to the Parliament the right of remonstrating, of which they had been deprived by Lewis XIV. made provision for the exact and regular payment of the troops, gave security for the payment of the annuities on the Hotel de Ville, and fixed the value of the gold and silver specie which had been till now in a fluctuating state. He discovered also a disposition to attack the farmers-general, which gave much satisfaction to the people ; threatening to seize the spoils which they had pillaged, and convert them to the use of the State. He abridged the power of the Intendants, to the general satisfaction of the nation ; and ordered a visitation of the Royal prisons, for the purpose of hearing the complaints of the prisoners, and liberating those who were unjustly detained. Many were set at liberty. Bishops, priests, and even lay persons, who had been sent into banishment on account of church matters, returned home in triumph, and had the pleasure of seeing Father Tellier, with the haughtiest of his fellows, banished in their turn ; and indeed those Jesuits, for their daring audacity, well deserved severer treatment*. The Regent circulated a printed letter, in which he required instructions from the public, how to diminish the

* Father la Motte, preaching in the Cathedral of Rouen, on the 20th of October, made use of these terms, which could refer only to the Regent : ‘ Is it not strange to see a little fellow swelled with pride, but equally destitute of honesty and abilities, at the head of both Church and State ?’

the taxes, and how to levy them in the manner the least burdensome to the subjects. A reform was also made in the expences of the Court : And the Duke of Orleans greatly flattered the Parisians by promising to bring their young Monarch soon back to the capital.

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There was no remarkable disgrace on this occasion, but that of Philippeaux Pontchartrain, Secretary of State for the marine department. What happened with respect to him, may be produced as an instance, how advantageous it is, when there are opposite parties in a state, for families to have members on both sides of the question. Such policy has been useful to several. Chancellor Pontchartrain, when he understood that Lewis XIV. intended to make a will, being sensible that the dispositions could not be favourable to the Duke of Orleans, asked leave to retire, on pretext of his age and infirmities. But his sole motive was, to avoid taking any concern in that deed ; and of this he made a merit with the Duke. But his son Pontchartrain, the minister, shewed on the occasion even an affected attachment to the legitimated Princes. The Regent accordingly took his revenge by removing him from his office ; but, at the same time, rewarded the Chancellor, by making his grandson, Count de Maurepas, at the age of seventeen, minister of the marine department *.

Disgrace of
Pontchar-
train.

X 3

This

* This anecdote I had from a courtier, who was cotemporary with Count Maurepas, and learned it from him.

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This change was, no doubt, concerted with the grandfather, as neither he nor his lady had much reason to be pleased with their son, if he was such a character as St Simon represents him. He kept on his guard against their recommendations, and made a point of granting nothing at their request, lest he should appear to be still under their authority. His father and mother therefore, laid it down as a rule to ask nothing of him; and of this they made no secret, as they were sure to be denied. The man, indeed, valued himself on refusing every body, and on being oppressed with difficulties in the most trifling affairs. He had a pleasure in saying disagreeable things. On pretence of friendship, and by way of giving advice, he would reprimand with the harshness of a schoolmaster. Even general officers were not secure from his magisterial and sarcastic sallies on the most public occasions,

Nor was there any charm whatever in his conversation to compensate those defects. His discourse was heavy and methodical, and always divided into three heads. He interrupted you, put questions, and took the words out of your mouth, with forced laughter all the time, which resembled crying more than laughing; and still the burden of the song was, ‘You comprehend me? Do I make myself understood?’ His face was long, blotched, and spoiled by the small-pox, his lips thick, and he wanted

‘ wanted an eye ; he wore a glass one in its stead, PART IV.
 ‘ which gave his countenance a wild frightful 1715-16.
 ‘ appearance. But he was a man of application,
 ‘ knew his business, and missed no opportunity
 ‘ of informing himself.’

Accordingly, notwithstanding the disasters of the last reign, the navy continued, during the administration of M. de Pontchartrain, on a respectable footing ; but in the hands of a boy, it soon went to wreck. Marshal Villars, governor of Provence, happening to visit Toulon, in the following year, says, ‘ I was there grieved to see
 ‘ the ruin of that once formidable navy which,
 ‘ under the late King, triumphed over the combi-
 ‘ ned maritime powers. I found near thirty ves-
 ‘ sels totally deserted, mere floating hulks, some of
 ‘ which had been mounted with an hundred and
 ‘ twenty guns, and had once spread the glory of
 ‘ the King and nation, and the terror of our
 ‘ arms to the extremities of the earth.’

This decline of the navy may have been owing also to the negligence of the Regent, in consequence of his reposing full confidence in the English. An intimacy, cemented by their common pursuit of pleasure, had long subsisted between him and the Lords Stair and Stanhope. These two noblemen, of whom one was already ambassador in France, took advantage of the credit which a conformity in taste and inclinations gave them with the Regent, to promote the interests of their country. They began with offer-

Con-
 nec-
 tions of the
 Regent
 with the
 English.

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ing him forces from England, if Spain, as there was reason to fear, should attempt to disturb him in the Regency. He, by way of gratitude, sacrificed to them the Pretender, whom Lewis XIV. retaining his generosity even in adversity, would never abandon. Stuart had, under the secret protection of that Monarch, planned an invasion, in which, if properly seconded, he might have been successful. But the Regent did not think himself obliged to keep the engagements made by his uncle, and the project being in other respects ill concerted, miscarried for want of support. The English, not content with the failure of the expedition, pursued the Prince with inveterate rage. They even set a price on his head; and there was arrested in France a poor wretch, who was more than suspected of an inclination to deserve the reward. The English ambassador was not ashamed to claim him, and the Regent was so mean as to give him up*. Thus this Prince, too warmly prejudiced in favour of a rival nation, that never loses sight of its own interests, became deeply impressed with their maxims, and adopted their opinions and systems. This admiration of that people, which has since been called the *Anglomania*, and of which the Great, whose duty it is to set an example, ought particularly to beware, soon came to have considerable

* This fact, far from honourable to the memory of the Regent, is entirely refuted by what M. Duclos says, in his Collection of Anecdotes, inserted in the first volume of the *Pieces interessantes*, &c.

considerable influence in the management of the public business, in consequence of the ascendancy which the Abbé Dubois, who was in the pay of the English, acquired over the Regent *.

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Dubois is not to be considered merely as a libertine, unfit for any employment, but debauchery. He indeed gave his pupil a turn to dissipation, or rather encouraged his natural propensities that way ; but, at the same time, endeavoured to inform his mind with the knowledge suitable to his rank. An examination on the interests of Princes, which he caused the Duke de Chartres to undergo at St Cloud, in presence of a numerous assembly, was long after remembered. The political erudition which the young Prince displayed, had been drawn by his Preceptor from extracts out of the Memoirs of Foreign Affairs, which Messrs de St Prest and Baluze, the latter librarian to Colbert, had been employed to make. Dubois asked a reading of their work. He had it copied by night ; and, by putting it into the mouth of his pupil, displayed it to the whole Court as his own.

Dubois.

A

* Among the revenues which Cardinal Dubois, prime minister of France enjoyed at his death, St Simon in his Memoirs, t. 5. p. 292. mentions a pension of fifty-four thousand pounds, paid him by the English.

Most of the anecdotes here introduced concerning the private life of this prelate, are related on the authority of a man who knew him from his infancy, and whose papers were communicated to me by Abbé Barthelemi, of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres.

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A taste for Natural Philosophy was then beginning to become general, with the system of Descartes, which was not yet suffered to be publicly taught. Dubois, knowing what a passion his pupil had for novelties, explained that system to him in a favourable and pleasing manner. The ardour with which the Prince applied to this amusing and instructive science, rendered him, from whom he had acquired its principles, in some measure necessary to him; and this was what the Abbé wished for.

He attended the Duke in his first campaign, and suggested to him the performance of a splendid action in 1692, after the battle of Steinkirk. The field of battle was covered with the wounded and dying, whose groans Dubois observing, bade him 'send his servants to remove those poor wretches.' The Duke immediately gave orders, and not only had those taken up who lay on the plain, but made the woods be scoured, in order to assist such of the enemy as had retired thither. The Abbé wrote an account of the battle, which came into the hands of Lewis XIV. and pleased him. The Monarch publicly praised what the writer had said of Marshal Luxembourg. The Marshal was not ungrateful to his panegyrist, and returned his encomium on a different occasion. It was one day mentioned to Lewis, that Abbé Pellisson was dead without confession. Luxembourg happened to be present. 'I know another Abbé,' said he, 'who has
' the

‘ the honour of being known to your Majesty, PART IV.
 ‘ and might very well die in the same situation.’ 1715-16.

“ Who ?” The Abbé Dubois, who exposed himself fearlessly to danger in the battle at Steinkirk ; I met him every where over the field.’

He relates the military deeds of that day, whether he had seen them, or had been only told himself, with a degree of liveliness and spirit which surprised the King. ‘ Were you there,’ said his Majesty, ‘ once.’ ‘ No, Sire, I should have been afraid of returning with a joke more, and an arm fewer.’ This answer was apparently not disagreeable ; for Lewis, as he left the army, seeing Abbé Dubois in the train of the Duke de Chartres, when he came to pay his respects, said, ‘ Farewell, Abbé, continue to conduct yourself properly towards my nephew ; I am persuaded that you will honourably discharge your duties, not, perhaps as a brave, but as a wise man, which is all that I expect.’

He was not, more than other Courtiers, constantly in favour. But he knew what shifts to take, to avoid disgrace. He was not only Preceptor to the Duke of Chartres, but taught the Princesses Italian ; and when impatience of restraint, or reprimands for his conduct, hurt him with the brother, he supported himself on the interest of the sisters. Some ill services had been done him with the Prince, and he was in disgrace when Philip went to assume the command of the army in Italy. The Abbé came in great haste from

‘ one

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one of his Abbacies, to get himself nominated Secretary. He was unsuccessful in his application : However, he yielded not to the rebuff, but followed the Prince, and in a month had the Secretary made aid-de-camp to the General, and took the pen in his stead.

He was not so lucky in insinuating himself into the Spanish affairs. Madame d'Urfini, aware of his intriguing spirit, excluded him particularly from the Prince's train, when he went to command in Spain. 'At least,' said the disgraced Abbé to the Duke of Orleans, 'distinguish me with some mark of favour, lest I be thought to have lost your confidence.' 'Take care to be at hand at the instant of my setting out,' returned the Prince. When seated in his chaise, he looked around for his Preceptor, called him to him, made him go into the carriage, and openly embraced him three or four times. Abbé Dubois was neither disturbed nor alarmed at these alternations of favour and disgrace. He talked of high fortune, like a man who believed himself born to it. Nothing appeared beyond his hopes ; and when he entered upon the charge of the Duke de Chartres's education, it would have given him no surprise to have told him, that he was to become Archbishop of Cambray, a Cardinal, and Prime Minister of the kingdom.

What he found the most troublesome of all his enterprises, was to obtain a share in the administration

ministration of public affairs. His reputation for probity was so bad, that the Duke of Orleans, however willing, durst not risk provoking the public by such a choice *. After dropping many indirect hints, he at last determined to make a direct application to the Regent, and boldly told him : ' At a time when your own fortune has assumed so fair an aspect, can you decently leave a man who has been your Preceptor, unemployed ? ' The pupil hesitated ; yet his weak attachment to a man by whom he had long suffered favours to be wheedled from him, at length prevailed, and the Abbé was made a counsellor of state. The Duke, when he announced to him this appointment, which, at the first, nobody could believe, kindly embraced him, and said, ' a little honesty, I beseech you, Abbé.'

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Thus engaged in the career of public business, the new Counsellor sought how to render himself necessary : And with the connections which he had already formed, as well as in consideration of the character of the Prince, whom he purposed to govern, it was only by political intrigue this could be accomplished.

Change in politics.

There were at Court two parties, of whom one was attached to the system of administration that had been followed by Lewis XIV. and, desirous that if not implicitly followed, it should at least not be directly contradicted ; while the other, either

Views of the parties at Court.

* Madame de Hautefort, with whom he had lived, used to say, ' If ever this little Abbé utter a single syllable of truth, I shall have it written in letters of gold.'

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either from hatred to the system, or out of a malicious disposition to frustrate the intentions of so arbitrary a Monarch, set themselves in eager opposition to every thing for which he had shewn any predilection. He had never, as had been mentioned, lost sight of the project of restoring the Stuarts to the throne of Great Britain, and had still maintained a correspondence, which continued, even after his death, to give uneasiness to King George. The Pretender had not indeed been profited by the aid of the French ; but through his means they had it still in their power to disturb the British Throne, whenever they were so disposed. To make themselves easy on this head, Stair and Stanhope could think of no other means, but to give the party who opposed the measures of the ancient Court, an undoubted superiority over the other: And they accomplished their purpose by gaining Abbé Dubois.

He was himself greatly interested to overturn the whole political system of France. For, if it should remain as it had been, there would be no need of his counsels or negociations: but if it fell, different measures were to be adopted, in which it might be necessary to employ him. The Duke of Orleans had been alarmed for the interference of Spain to wrest the Regency out of his hands, and endeavours were now used to inspire him with new fears respecting the succession, by representing, that in case of the death of Lewis XV. who seemed in a very tender
state

state of health, Philip V. would probably not think himself bound by the renunciation which he had formally made : And as Spain, then under the government of Alberoni, an active and enterprising minister, appeared rousing from its lethargy, and raising its military strength to a respectable state, it was suggested to the Regent, that the sole purpose of those preparations was to assert the rights of the grandson of Lewis XIV. in case of his cousin's death.

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The Duke of Orleans certainly could not be blamed for adopting precautions to guard his rights ; this Marshal Villars acknowledged to himself in Council : ‘ I am fully persuaded, said he, ‘ that you wish well to the King’s life, ‘ as well as all the rest of us. But none can be ‘ surprised at your extending your views farther. ‘ Measures which a private person might very ‘ reasonably take to secure an inheritance to ‘ which he had the right of succession, cannot ‘ be blameable in a prince who is next heir to ‘ the crown of France.’ Villars concluded with saying, that he ought to content himself with learning what were the views of Spain with her armaments ; and, if he found that they did not threaten France, to wish them success, and intermeddle no farther.

Had the Regent taken pains to obtain this information, he would have learned, that Alberoni’s purpose was, to reunite to Spain the Italian States, which had been dismembered from it in
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the war about the succession, and to erect them into Sovereignties for the children of the Princess, whom he had raised to the throne; and that, to prevent the English from lending assistance to the Emperor, the present possessor of those States, the Spanish minister intended to send the Pretender into Britain with a powerful force. ‘Well,’ said Villars, ‘if Spain has concerted enterprises to aggrandise herself, rather aid than thwart her. The more you contribute to her elevation, the less will she be disposed to oppose your pretensions to the Crown. Were Philip V. then to make such an attempt, all Europe would arm against a Prince whom you would have rendered formidable by contributing to the extension of his power.’ Villars concluded with a sort of prediction which struck the Regent. ‘England, said he, ‘is at least partly disposed to acknowledge her lawful Sovereign. Pursue those views which the national glory, and the ties of consanguinity recommend, rather than such as must, in the end, involve you in a war with the Spanish monarch.’ The Prince cast a stern look upon him, and said with emotion, ‘You see a great way.’ But he was hurt.

And how could he be otherwise, after giving himself up to the English with an implicit confidence, which no person not fully convinced of the goodness of their intentions, would have ventured to entertain towards them? ‘Going, one day,

' day to the Palace Royal,' relates Villars, ' I PART IV.
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 ' found that the Prince had been three hours
 ' closeted with the Lords Stanhope and Stair.
 ' When they left him, after so long an audience,
 ' My Lord,' said I, ' I have been employed in
 ' various courts, and have observed the conduct of
 ' different sovereigns. I must use the freedom to
 ' say, that you are the only Prince who would do
 ' business entirely by himself with two foreign
 ' ministers in the service of the same master.' He
 replied, ' they are my particular friends.' ' Ap-
 ' parently, however,' returned I, ' they are still
 ' more particular friends to their master; and
 ' such men, prepared to speak to you on busi-
 ' ness, may lead you farther than you are a-
 ' ware.' Heedless of this sensible remonstrance,
 he continued his intimacy with them, and per-
 sisted in his negotiations, of which Abbé Du-
 bois was the active instrument, and the only per-
 son in the secret. About the end of the year,
 the Counsellor of State was sent to the Hague, in
 quality of Ambassador Extraordinary, to assist
 the English in forming a treaty of alliance with
 the Dutch against Spain.

The Regent had, by this time, agreeably to
 his promise, brought the King to the capital,
 and fixed his residence at the Louvre; not so
 much, it must be allowed, to gratify the Parisi-
 ans, as to gain an opportunity of enjoying his
 pleasures without interruption. ' In the begin-
 ' ning of his Regency, he rose pretty early;

Life of the
 Regent.

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‘ but. afterwards, the late hours, to which he
 ‘ prolonged his evening enjoyments, occasioned
 ‘ him to sleep till late in the morning. His
 ‘ mornings were appropriated to business, each
 ‘ particular class of affairs having its particular
 ‘ day and hour. Some he would dispatch be-
 ‘ fore dressing himself. At his levee he saw
 ‘ company for a very short time. Before and af-
 ‘ ter, he gave audience on matters of smaller im-
 ‘ portance,—as, on the concerns of his pleasures,
 ‘ which he was the least anxious to abridge of
 ‘ time. Next were successively admitted the
 ‘ *Charges des Affaires*, the Presidents of the dif-
 ‘ ferent Councils, and the Foreign Ministers, till
 ‘ the hour for mass. On the Sundays and ordi-
 ‘ nary festivals, he heard mass in his own cha-
 ‘ pel: On the more solemn festivals, he went in
 ‘ pomp to his parish-church. At two he took
 ‘ his chocolate in public. He then conversed
 ‘ with company, and speak who would, none
 ‘ was neglected: This frankness and popularity
 ‘ of manners contributed much to gain him the
 ‘ hearts of the Parisians. After breakfast, he
 ‘ gave new audience, chiefly to ladies. He paid
 ‘ a visit of a few minutes to his mother, to whom
 ‘ he always shewed great respect; and he care-
 ‘ fully expressed his duty to the King every day.
 ‘ When he accosted the infant Monarch, whe-
 ‘ ther in approaching him, or taking his leave,
 ‘ it was always with an air of respect and reve-
 ‘ rence,

‘ rence, with which every body was charmed and edified. PART IV.
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‘ By five in the evening all business was over. The remainder of the day was, in winter, spent at the opera, or public amusements of a similar nature; and, in summer, in walks without the city, and in entertainments, sometimes in his own apartments, sometimes at Luxembourg, and sometimes with his daughter the Dutcheſs of Berry. The parties at those suppers were always a very odd set of people, a dozen gentlemen of the Court, whom he used with great familiarity to call his *chums*; women of bad fame, some of quality, others not, whom he associated with his mistresses and his daughter; and low people, recommended only by their wit, and their skill to add a zest to debauchery. The cheer was always prepared, near the apartments where they assembled, and the guests used sometimes to put to their hands in the preparation. During the solemnization of these orgies, friends and indifferent persons, men and women, whether respectable for their conduct, or their rank, were censured with a degree of freedom, which may be called wanton licentiousness. Intrigues of gallantry, whether past or then going on, were related. The most scandalous were best received. Old stories, wanton language, pleasantries on the most serious subjects; all was well received, provided only that it raised a laugh.’ The Duke was not more

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backward than the rest to take his share in the conversation, nor more scrupulous than another to put himself in those situations, of which the great can, no more than the base populace, avoid feeling the disgrace *. ‘ In the time of those suppers, all the doors were so closely shut, that it was vain to attempt to penetrate to the Regent, happen what might, in respect either to his own person, or to the State; and this impenetrable exclusion was always maintained till the next day.

‘ One thing very extraordinary is, that in those seasons, when confidence sometimes expands itself, neither the Regent’s mistresses, nor his *chums*, nor even the Dutchess of Berry, were ever able to draw any secret of consequence from him, relative to State affairs. But it must be confessed, that he treated all business with the levity and impatience of a man who disliked it, and never gave application to it but with regret. ‘ And,’ adds St Simon, “ it is a truth which I cannot too often repeat, “ as it is what I am perfectly certain of, that “ had the Crown fallen to him, and had he even “ obtained it without difficulty, it would rather “ have been a trouble and an embarrassment, “ than a matter of satisfaction to him.’

‘ His

* It was possibly on some such occasion, when all was confusion and excess, that Madame de Sabran said to the Duke of Orleans, ‘ When God made the world, he prepared a separate mass to make princes and lacqueys.’ *St Simon*, t. 7. p. 122.

‘ His frankness indeed made him generally
 ‘ beloved ; but it sometimes encouraged people
 ‘ to behave to him with a want of respect which
 ‘ was attended with inconveniences. One of the
 ‘ most disagreeable circumstances attending it,
 ‘ was, that he could not well check those whom
 ‘ he had indulged with too much freedom, when-
 ‘ ever he wished, but was obliged to break with
 ‘ them before he could bring them to confine
 ‘ themselves within the bounds of duty. I was
 ‘ continually telling him,’ adds St Simon, ‘ what
 ‘ attention to decorum and propriety became his
 ‘ rank, of purpose to detach him from the worth-
 ‘ less people about him. But when I thought I
 ‘ had him sure, he would slip out of my hands ;
 ‘ and, after acknowledging the truth of what I
 ‘ said, would suffer his inclinations to prevail over
 ‘ his reason, and involve him anew in the same
 ‘ irregularities.’

It has been thought, that to his ardent love of pleasure, his aversion to business, his readiness to follow the advice, and adopt the prejudices of others, his indolence about examining into the real state of affairs, and his implicit confidence in conjectures, is to be referred the origin of all the troubles of his Regency ;—family broils raised to the importance of matters of State ; a foreign,—or, between such near relations, rather a domestic war ; the ruin, and the critical situation to which both the Church and the Civil Government were reduced.

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The legitimatedprinces deprived of the rank of Princes of the Blood.

The Duke of Orleans was far from being of a vindictive temper. His generosity of mind was so well known, that the Parisians never gave him any other name in their songs, but Philip *the debonair*. Yet in his conduct towards the legitimated Princes, he seems to have been partly actuated by a grudge still remaining in his breast for the opposition which he had experienced from them. He had, on the very first day of his Regency, resumed all the power which Lewis XIV. had intended to share among them. This was full political satisfaction. But, as we seldom forgive those whom we have once offended, he permitted the Duke of Bourbon, altho' his opposition would have been sufficient to hinder it, to present a requition to the Parliament, insisting, that the Duke of Maine, and the Count of Toulouse, should be divested of their rank and privilege as Princes of the Blood.

In the papers of that famous process, which was commenced about the middle of the year 1716, it was in vain attempted to assign the reasons which could induce the Duke of Bourbon to seek the degradation of his mother's brother, his aunt's husband, and the brother of the Regent's wife. The plaintiff talked only of the interest of the nation, which was materially injured by such an arbitrary disposal of the Crown, and of the interest of the Peers, who, when the title of Princes of the Blood was thus conferred on illegitimate Princes, were removed a degree farther from the throne ;—

throne ;—but he had two still weightier reasons for raising his process. The first, as we are told by Madame de Maintenon, was a strong aversion to the Duke of Maine. ‘He has,’ said she, ‘such another for this poor Prince, as some people have for a frog or a mouse.’ The other was a litigation on account of an important process which had arisen among the mother, sisters, brothers, aunts, nephews, and nieces of the Houses of Conti and Condé. The Duke of Maine, who was concerned in it, through his wife, did every thing in his power to favour the wishes of the Duke of Bourbon. The Dutchess, at the desire of her husband, made some sacrifices. But, in vain, hatred prevailed, and the process was carried on with all the keenness which relations usually display on such occasions. And, although an accommodation was at length effected, the Duke of Bourbon still retained so much resentment as prompted his attack on the legitimated Princes.

As the heads of the families of Condé and Conti made theirs a common cause with the Dukes and Peers, Maine and Toulouse invoked to their assistance the higher orders of the nobility, who were displeased to see the Peers take part with the Princes of the Blood, as if they had formed a superior order. The legitimated Princes demanded to have the decision of their cause deferred, till the King should attain the years of majority, hoping that so solemn an

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edict, as that by which their privileges were constituted, would never be annulled by a king come to years of discretion. They alleged too, that, as it was a question respecting the succession to the throne, the States-General should be assembled, as none but they were entitled to decide in it.

Pleasure now retired from Sceaux. Witty verses, dramatic representations, gay conversation *, the favourite entertainments of the parties who assembled there, now gave place to dissertations on points of right, consultations of lawyers, and the language of chicanery. ‘The Dutchess of Maine contributed greatly to the perfection of the works which appeared on this occasion, not only by her natural judgment and good taste, but likewise by her laborious researches. To these she used to dedicate great part of the night. She used to say, that, with huge volumes upon volumes piled upon her bed, she was like Enceladus under mount Etna. ‘I assisted in the labour,’ says her confident. ‘I likewise turned over old chronicles and lawyers, ancient and modern, till fatigue closed the Princess’s eyes, when I myself retired to repose.’

‘Thousands of obscure people offered to assist her researches, and came to produce their discoveries. The elder Boivin, a respectable Academician, a better Hebrew than French scholar,’ adds Madame de Staal humorously, ‘better

* Staal, t. i. p. 311.

‘ter skilled in the usages of the Chaldeans, than PART IV.
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‘in those of his native country, and a stranger
‘to all courts but the Court of Semiramis, ask-
‘ed to be introduced to ours, with the spoils of
‘antiquity. They were judged very little to the
‘purpose of our present business. Precedents
‘from the family of Nimrod could not conclude
‘to that of Lewis XIV.’—She speaks also of an
Abbé of pretended erudition, a gentleman who
had once been a Monk, and a starving Countess*, all of whom offered their services, solely
with a view to obtain relief to themselves, and
to be of some consequence in so important an af-
fair. The Dutchess of Maine received and lis-
tened to them all, like a sick person, who not on-
ly consults skilful physicians, but also gives ear
to the pretences of empirics.

But, notwithstanding all her endeavours, there
was issued †, on the 2d of July 1717, a declara-
tion by the King, which was registered on the
8th, and deprived the legitimated Princes of the
names, rights, and privileges, of Princes of the
Blood, but leaving them their precedence in Par-
liament.

* This Countess got into the way of presenting all sorts of
people to Madame de Staal. ‘She persuaded those who put
‘themselves under her protection,’ says that lady, ‘that in
‘order to display their erudition, they should invite me to
‘supper. I could not avoid visiting some of them by the
‘Dutchess of Maine’s orders, in company with our hungry
‘Countess, who rejoiced at the thoughts of a good supper.’
Staal, t. 1. p. 315.

† Memoirs of Pollnitz.—Letters of Maintenon.

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liament. When the Dutchess saw her husband first, after the decision on which this declaration was founded, in her pride of the blood of Condé, the privileges of which she now lost, she, with a look of indignation, said to him, 'I have then disgraced myself by marrying you.' The Duke conducted himself through the whole affair, with a degree of coolness and tranquillity which disconcerted his enemies. To the proposal of purchasing an accommodation by some sacrifice, he constantly replied, 'That it did not become him to subject himself to voluntary degradation, but to bear what superior power might inflict, and in due time recover his rights.' He recommended great circumspection in words and actions, to all who belonged to him, or were interested in his success. 'But,' said Madame de Maintenon, 'I don't think him able to confine his wife to silence; and, besides, is not it possible to provoke even those who are most disposed to silence, to break through it occasionally?' What she foretold, really came to pass.

While this affair furnished employment to the Court, Paris and the Provinces were put into no less agitation, by the severity with which the officers of the Revenue levied the taxes. In March 1716, the Regent established a Justiciary Chamber, consisting of the Presidents and Counsellors of Parliament, the officers of the Chamber of Accompts, the Court of Aids, and the Masters

sters of Requests. The place of meeting was in the Grands-Augustins. The edict defines its powers to be, 'to take cognisance, and pronounce sentence in civil and criminal processes, and to decide in all actions for speculation, extortion, and malversations in the Revenue, raised by the Attorney-General of the Chamber.' The King declared amenable to this Chamber. 'The officers,' to use the expressions of the edict, 'of our Revenue, the Farmers-General, and their agents, clerks, and all others employed, either in the collecting of the land-tax, or in levying any other tax whatever, ordinary or extraordinary, customs on exports and imports, or in supplying ammunition and provisions to our troops and hospitals, garrisons and armies by sea and land, &c. or in the expenditure and distribution of the foresaid taxes, whether in the expences of war, of our Royal Households, or in any other expenditure, for the behoof of the State. They are at the same time empowered to judge, and to decide against all who have exercised usury, either by paper or specie, to the injury of our Revenue, and to afford all who have been guilty of malversations in the finances, an opportunity of making some reparation of their crime. We hereby grant a free pardon to all such as have been guilty in any of the above instances, and to their accomplices, whoever shall, before being accused and brought to trial, make a full confession of their

'guilt

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‘ guilt to our Attorney-General. And, lastly,
 ‘ to invite all good and faithful subjects to concur
 ‘ in detecting the aforesaid crimes, the Edict
 ‘ grants to such as chuse to become informers, a
 ‘ fifth part of the fines and confiscations levied
 ‘ on those convicted, in consequence of their in-
 ‘ formation, and to those who shall discover
 ‘ goods concealed, a tenth or more, according to
 ‘ their diligence, and to the nature and circum-
 ‘ stances of the case.’

It may be readily inferred from this enumeration, what a number of persons were exposed to the enquiries of the newly instituted Chamber, and what an alarm the publication of the Edict produced among all who had been in the least concerned in the King’s affairs. The proceedings were at first strict and vigorous. The Bastille and other prisons were filled with the accused or suspected. Several were laid under arrest in their own houses. An order was issued, forbidding the furnishing of post-horses, or in any manner favouring the escape of such as should seek to save themselves by flight. The people who, in France, are constantly inimical to tax-gatherers, beheld, with pleasure, those whose riches and insolence they had long viewed with envy and indignation, now dragged before this tribunal, stripped of their wealth, and consigned to infamy. Some were condemned to the pillory, some to the galleys, some were amerced in exorbitant sums ; and one poor wretch, in a
 remote

remote province, though not, surely, the greatest depredator, suffered death *.

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After making these examples, the Chamber came next to the imposition of taxes, which being levied from about four hundred persons, produced an hundred and eighty millions, of which eighty were employed to pay off the State bills, and the capitals of the annuities. Madame de Maintenon informs us what became of the rest. 'We hear every day,' says she, 'of some new gift made by the Regent out of the taxes; and this mode of laying out the money of the men of business, gives general dissatisfaction.' When it is also known, that some of the first nobility then about Court, were mean enough to solicit, by way of gratifications, the taxes on post-chaifes, and on the Jews, we cannot but presume, that a number of them would wheedle from the easy temper of the Regent, those millions which should have been appropriated to the payment of the national debt, and the relief of the people.

But no advantage whatever was gained by the oppression of the officers of the Revenue, and it accordingly excited general indignation. 'What have we gained by the punishment of those poor wretches? We had enriched them, and they were satisfied: But they are displaced, to make way for a set of needy successors, who must be enriched in the same manner. And
'our

* Samuel Bernard offered six millions to escape taxation. *Dangeau*, p. 558.

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‘ our sole consolation is, that we may one day
 ‘ see them, in the same manner, stripped of the
 ‘ fruits of their extortion. Besides, as the en-
 ‘ quiries went on, others were daily accused and
 ‘ taken up; merchants and traders of good re-
 ‘ putation were cited before the tribunal, and
 ‘ obliged, in order to their justification, to make
 ‘ known the state of their affairs. Even those
 ‘ who had at first applauded the institution of
 ‘ the Justiciary Chamber, began to dread that
 ‘ they might themselves be called before it, in
 ‘ their turn, and their innocence afford them no
 ‘ security.’ These fears induced them to lock
 up their money, and leave commerce to lan-
 guish.

This was well expressed by the Chancellor,
 when he came to shut up this chamber, after the
 court had existed about a year. ‘ You know,
 ‘ Gentlemen,’ said he, ‘ that even remedies may
 ‘ become evils when too long administered.
 ‘ At sight of a number of criminals, who, by
 ‘ consanguinity and connections in business and
 ‘ fortune, interest even the sound parts of the
 ‘ State, the public are struck with a consterna-
 ‘ tion and alarm, which retard the operations of
 ‘ the body politic, and cause its movements to
 ‘ languish. This is naturally to be expected
 ‘ from a people remarkable for inconstancy, who
 ‘ readily pass from an excess of hatred to the
 ‘ extreme of compassion. They are pleased to
 ‘ see rigorous justice speedily inflicted; but when
 ‘ they

‘ they behold the guilty long unhappy, they
 ‘ forget their guilt.’ The Chamber of Justice
 was therefore suppressed, and the Court of Aids
 left to finish the business which that Chamber
 had not brought to a termination. Those who
 had not been yet criminated, were favoured with
 an amnesty ; and to correct one excess by ano-
 ther, it was enacted by a special declaration,
 ‘ That Farmers-general should, in future, re-
 ‘ main free from all taxes and enquiries ;’ a
 privilege directly in violation of the edict of
 1625, quoted in the preamble to the edict for
 the institution of the Justiciary Chamber, and
 ordaining, ‘ That such a Chamber should be in-
 ‘ stituted every ten years, to the end that the
 ‘ malversations of the Officers and Farmers of
 ‘ the Revenue, in the collection, management
 ‘ and distribution of the taxes, might not re-
 ‘ main unpunished.’

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The Regent had saved so little money from
 the pillage of the Farmers-general, that he could
 not pay for the beautiful diamond, which was
 called, after him, *the Regent*. He hesitated at
 an expence which the Revenue did not seem in
 a condition to bear. But St Simon represented
 to him, ‘ That it was below the dignity of the
 ‘ King of France to be deterred by the price,
 ‘ from purchasing a piece which, as being sin-
 ‘ gular in its kind, was of inestimable value,
 ‘ and would be an honour to the Crown to pos-
 ‘ sess.’

The pur-
 chase of the
 beautiful
 diamond.

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‘ fefs *.’ The Regent yielded to these reasons, and so fully imbibed the spirit of them, that he himself afterwards expended large sums in forming, in his Palace, a collection of pictures, medals and gems, which he left to his family, as a monument of his taste and magnificence, and an honour to France †.

This easy Prince was also persuaded to destroy Marly. They told him, ‘ That to raze that sink
‘ from the face of the earth, would be the saving
‘ of a considerable expence, which was unnecessary
‘ laid out, and the materials would produce a large sum.’ St Simon again inspired the Regent with sentiments of magnificence, which saved this elegant monument of the reign of Lewis XIV. ‘ This piece of œconomy,’ said he, ‘ to which they would persuade you, would
‘ better become the tutor of a private person,
‘ but is much below what the tutor of a King
‘ of France owes to himself and his pupil. The
‘ expence of keeping up Marly is considerable;
‘ but what a trifle among the King’s other expences? You need not reckon upon the sum
‘ to be drawn for the materials. I assure you
‘ they would be disposed of in presents, or carried

* This diamond weighs more than 500 grains, is of the size of a large plum, perfectly white, without spot, and of an admirable water. Two millions were paid for it; and the seller was allowed to keep the filings. As the sum could not be paid in ready money, interest was given.

† St Simon.

ried off in pillage. At the expence of millions, what they call a *finck*, has been rendered a Palace of the Genii, a wonder to strangers. Think what Europe will say, if so noble a piece of architecture be levelled with the ground. How will they regard the trifling reasons which are suggested to move you to its destruction?

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Then applying to the Prince by a different hold, St Simon adds, 'Certainly I can have no stronger reasons than you to respect the taste and the favourite work of the late King, yet I cannot help thinking it improper thus openly to insult his memory. So long a reign, such a series of prosperity, such heroic fortitude under a sad reverse of fortune, and such felicity in extricating himself from his difficulties, have inspired the world with a reverence for that Prince. I already behold all who are discontent under your government, and even those who are only indifferent, joining with the Court, and exclaiming against the deed as an act of sacrilege. Your enemies would not fail to urge the destruction of these buildings against you to the young King, and to impress him with prepossessions on this head, which may prove fatal to your credit when he comes of age.'

The Regent yielded to these reasons, and Marly was spared. But he permitted the linen and furniture to be sold, upon its being represented

PART IV.
1715-16. to him, that as it was not probable that the King would, for a long while yet, think of living in that Palace, a great part of those things would be spoiled or dispersed before they could be of use to him. This part had the fate which St Simon had foretold to the whole. Things were given away, or carried off, or bought at a very low price. The sale produced very little, and it cost millions to furnish it anew.

D'Agues-
seau.

The Chancellor who shut up the Chamber of Justice was M. d'Aguesseau, a name still celebrated and respected at the bar where that Magistrate exercised, for four and twenty years, the laborious duties of Advocate and Attorney-general. He was raised to the dignity of Chancellor on the death of M. Voisin, and the choice did honour to the Regent. His writings justify what St Simon says, ' That he was a man of genius, knowledge and judgment. Though grave, he was easy of access, and agreeable in conversation. His equity, piety, self-denial, the purity and innocence of his manners, rendered him a model of virtue. With a tenacious memory, extensive reading, vehement and graceful eloquence, he was the most accomplished Chancellor that France had seen for several centuries.' Yet St Simon does not allow him even mediocrity ; but tells us that notwithstanding his friendship for him, he must say, ' that d'Aguesseau, when raised to the office, gave the public reason to regret even those among his
' prede-

‘ predecessors who had the least distinguished
 ‘ themselves in that eminent post.’

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He blames him as dilatory and indecisive ; faults which he had acquired from his examining, weighing, and comparing difficulties, one after another, when Advocate and Attorney-general. Thus, his natural scruples, and his extensive knowledge of decisions for and against, rendered it extremely difficult for him to come to a decision upon any cause.

‘ Besides his natural slowness, he was also too
 ‘ anxious about doing things well. A letter of
 ‘ business, a statute, a declaration, were pieces
 ‘ of composition with which he could never
 ‘ please himself. He was a slave to purity of
 ‘ language, and lost much time in polishing and
 ‘ perfecting his compositions. His inordinate
 ‘ application to the sciences was likewise a fault
 ‘ in a man in his situation. He was passionate-
 ‘ ly fond of them all ; and delighted to amuse
 ‘ himself with them in the company of his
 ‘ children and people of learning whom he ga-
 ‘ thered about him. To these conversations he
 ‘ appropriated too great a share of his time.
 ‘ He was so entirely occupied between the du-
 ‘ ties of his office, and these his favourite amuse-
 ‘ ments, that people who had business to trans-
 ‘ act with him, could not, without the utmost
 ‘ difficulty, obtain admission to his presence.’

With these, which can only become faults in a Magistrate when carried to excess, St Simon

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censures him for what he thinks a very essential defect in the character of a Chancellor,—a blind and abject reverence for all the principles, maxims and usages of the Parliament ; ‘ such as an Englishman entertains for the Parliament of his nation, which is of a very different constitution from ours ; or such as an orthodox Christian entertains for the decisions of the General Councils. This superstitious veneration led him into three capital errors, highly prejudicial to the public and to private persons.

‘ The *first* was an attachment to the minutest forms, so rigid, so literal, so servile, that in his judgment every other consideration, even the clearest justice, was to be disregarded, in comparison with those formalities. It cannot be suspected that he maintained them, because they encourage litigation and lengthen out processes, on which the influence and the fortunes of the people of the law depend. It was solely out of conscientious conviction that he adhered to them, and even endeavoured to introduce them in the Privy Council, where they can never be of use, as the King who presides in it knows nothing of them, and causes are not carried there till after the evidence and pleadings have been heard before other Courts. Besides, this attachment to form fettered his genius, rendered him troublesome in State affairs, which he cannot be said to have understood,

‘ stood, and unfit for acting his part at Court, PART IV.
 ‘ for which he had no one quality but polite- 1715-16.
 ‘ nefs.

‘ The *second* was a violent partiality for the
 ‘ Parliament. His regard to equity and know-
 ‘ ledge of the law rendered it impossible for
 ‘ him to avoid perceiving the errors of that bo-
 ‘ dy ; but he could not presume to correct or
 ‘ confine them within due bounds. He was
 ‘ grieved and distressed for the faults of the Par-
 ‘ liament ; but when these were pointed out,
 ‘ and the infliction of punishment proposed, he
 ‘ regarded the very purpose as criminal, and
 ‘ would neither inflict the intended punishment
 ‘ himself, nor suffer it to be inflicted by others.
 ‘ He therefore exercised all his address to cover,
 ‘ to excuse, and to interpret favourably. He
 ‘ liked to leave matters to the issue of a nego-
 ‘ ciation, because he could then take advantage
 ‘ of the facility and unsteadiness of the Regent’s
 ‘ temper to shake and alter his resolutions. In-
 ‘ stead of proving a firm Magistrate to support
 ‘ the Royal authority, the Duke of Orleans
 ‘ could scarce prevail with him to make some
 ‘ faint efforts on important occasions ; a circum-
 ‘ stance which greatly contributed to render the
 ‘ Parliament more haughty and unmanageable.

‘ If M. d’Aguesseau sometimes ventured to
 ‘ express himself in a style approaching to reprimand or reproach, it was never till after a
 ‘ long struggle, and always more faintly than he

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‘ had agreed to do. He was no less shocked at
 ‘ the idea of rescinding an *arret* of Parliament;
 ‘ and when, as Chancellor, he was obliged to
 ‘ assist in violating the dignity of that body, by
 ‘ treating one of their acts in so contemptuous a
 ‘ manner, he never yielded, without defending
 ‘ it in a very handsome manner. He held the
 ‘ very expression of *rescinding* an *arret* in such
 ‘ detestation, that, to avoid using it, he con-
 ‘ stantly employed the form of declaring the
 ‘ *arret* not to have been produced.

‘ 3dly, This abject reverence extended even
 ‘ to the Officers of justice. Whoever wore a
 ‘ gown, was, in his opinion, entitled to the pro-
 ‘ foundest respect; of whatever misdemeanour a
 ‘ Judge might be guilty, he would never have
 ‘ a complaint offered but in the most cautious
 ‘ manner. In such cases, when the legal evi-
 ‘ dence did not afford the fullest conviction, en-
 ‘ tirely unmixed with doubt, the complaint,
 ‘ however plausible, was dismissed without re-
 ‘ dress. But when prevarication in a Judge
 ‘ was clearly proved, then, indeed, M. d’Agues-
 ‘ seau was sincerely grieved, and tried every ex-
 ‘ pedient to save the honour of the gown, as if
 ‘ that could have suffered by the disgrace of a
 ‘ rogue who had purchased the right of wearing
 ‘ it. He would propose to compound, to ac-
 ‘ commodate, or to refer the matter to him, or
 ‘ would even list judgment when the accuser
 ‘ proved obstinate. When these means proved
 ‘ insufficient

‘ insufficient to stifle the complaint, the Chan- PART IV.
 ‘ cellor had then recourse to ruinous delays, 1715-16.
 ‘ which was much the same as if he had refused
 ‘ justice. In short, he always dealt as gently as
 ‘ possible with people of the law, and connived
 ‘ at their misdemeanours, wherever it could be
 ‘ done without an absolutely direct and flagrant
 ‘ violation of all justice.’

Were M. d’Aguesseau’s almost incredible partiality for his own profession still doubtful, no other proof need be sought than that which a reply he one day made to the Duke of Grammont affords: ‘ Since you came into office,’ said the Duke, ‘ with your knowledge of the chicane of
 ‘ lawyers, have you never thought of promoting
 ‘ an act to check knavery, and abridge the delays of justice? I have, indeed, thought of it;
 ‘ and so much in earnest, that I have even set
 ‘ about writing upon it. But when I reflected
 ‘ what a number of advocates, agents, proctors,
 ‘ and bailiffs, would be ruined by the issuing of
 ‘ such an act, I dropped the pen, out of compassion. ‘ By the same rule,’ adds St Simon,
 “ we must beware of exterminating robbers,
 “ lest the archers be deprived of bread.” This weakness in so great a man, which is mentioned to caution men of all professions against unreasonable prejudices in favour of the order to which they belong, rendered M. d’Aguesseau very unfit to second the Regent in that difficult train

PART IV. of business, which arose from the establishment
1715-16. and miscarriage of the Bank.

The Bank.

‘ It was on the 5th of May 1716, an æra fa-
 ‘ mous in the administration of the revenue,
 ‘ that the edict for the creation of a National
 ‘ Bank appeared *. Its object was to bubble
 ‘ the nation; and no project was ever proposed
 ‘ that promised fairer. John Law, a Scotch-
 ‘ man, who contrived it, proposed it as an ex-
 ‘ pedient, to use the terms of the edict, for in-
 ‘ creasing the quantity of circulating coin, to
 ‘ abolish usury, to afford strangers a safe oppor-
 ‘ tunity of acquiring funds in the kingdom, and
 ‘ to facilitate to the nation in general, the pur-
 ‘ chase of commodities and the payment of
 ‘ taxes. The only recompense which he re-
 ‘ quired, was the privilege of conducting this
 ‘ Bank for twenty years, and to be allowed to
 ‘ reckon in his transactions by Bank-crowns,
 ‘ which being always of one weight and deno-
 ‘ mination, could be liable to no fluctuation in
 ‘ value; a condition which, he said, was abso-
 ‘ lutely necessary, to enable the Bank to attract
 ‘ and preserve the confidence both of subjects
 ‘ and foreigners. The King, wishing his people
 ‘ to enjoy the same advantages that neighbour-
 ‘ ing nations had derived from their public
 ‘ Banks, which had supported their credit, re-
 ‘ trieved

* St Pierre, p. 565.—Mem. Reg. t. i. p. 133.—Dan-
 geau, 5th May 1716.

‘trieved their commerce, and encouraged manufatures, granted to Mr Law, whose experience, abilities, and knowledge were well known to him, the privilege which he, the said Mr Law, asked for himself and Company.’ Instantly, like water which has flowed smoothly and gently, but when a new sluice is opened, bubbles and bursts forth with precipitation, the money of the kingdom, in the same manner, deserted its ordinary channel, to pour into the Bank; and both French and strangers ran, with the same blind joy, headlong into the gulf.

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1715-16.

The Czar, Peter the Great, came to Paris, in the middle of the year 1717, from a curiosity to learn the state of the arts, and acquaint himself with the different establishments in France, that he might raise the former to flourish in his own empire, and imitate the latter *. St Cyr was too useful an establishment to escape the observation of so discerning a Monarch. He went thither, examined every thing with minute attention, and asked a copy of the regulations. Peter the Great was formed to estimate persons as well as things; he thought his homage due to the Foundress of so respectable an institution. She asked permission to receive him in bed. She gives the following account of his visit: ‘The Czar arrived at seven in the evening. He sat down by my bed-head, and asked if I were sick?’

The Czar
and Ma-
dame de
Maintenon.

* St Pierre.—Memoirs of the Regent.—Dangeau, &c.

PART IV. ‘ sick? I told him I was. He then made them
 1715-16. ‘ ask me, What was my complaint? I replied,
 ‘ Extreme old age. He made no answer; and
 ‘ seemed not to comprehend what I meant. His
 ‘ visit was short. He caused open the curtains
 ‘ at the foot of my bed, that he might see me:
 ‘ You will believe that he was satisfied with the
 ‘ sight.’ La Beaumelle says that she blushed;
 and the Ladies of St Lewis affirmed, that she
 might even appear still beautiful.

Madame de Maintenon had resolved, at the death of Lewis XIV. never more to leave this house; and she kept her resolution. ‘ It would
 ‘ be ridiculous in me,’ said she, ‘ to think of
 ‘ any thing but retirement. I must beware of
 ‘ exposing myself to the affected kindness of
 ‘ those who have been made happy, the chagrin
 ‘ of those who are in disgrace, the murmurs of
 ‘ the discontented, or the curiosity of the indif-
 ‘ creet.’ Even when hid in that recess, she was
 afraid of being still an object of curiosity. It
 was only after long intervals, and frequent en-
 treaties, that even the ladies whom she most
 esteemed, de Caylus and de Dangeau, could
 obtain access to her.

Her time was appropriated partly to long prayers, then to reading, of which she was always fond; the instruction of some young women, another favourite exercise of hers; working with her needle, the happiest expedient to divert the vapours; and solicitous cares to re-
 lieve

lieve the unfortunate. From her letters, we learn that this last was at all times a favourite object of her attention. PART IV.
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She sometimes complains of her frailty, and the ills with which it is accompanied ; but without repining or ill humour*. Her reflections on her condition, are rather serious than melancholy. ‘ Because still somewhat straight,’ says she, ‘ I am talked of as a person to be shown for a wonder. Such are the glories of long life ! They think it high praise, when they say of me, She still reasons justly ; she writes with a steady hand. Fine praise truly ! Great matter to be proud of !’ Such praises indeed, cannot be entirely pleasing ; for the exaggeration of what remains, renews the remembrance of what is lost.

The Dutcheſs of Berry did the honours of the Court when the Czar was in France. Her mother

Dutcheſs
of Berry.

* As an instance, take these verses, which are not without gaiety. A very strict regimen seems to have been prescribed to her : ‘ I have a keen appetite,’ said she, ‘ but no other complaint.’ (The verses, whatever their gaiety, have not much poetry in them ; and I have therefore translated them into prose. T.). ‘ Fagon, when I was at the very worst, left me to my own sagacity ; but now, for a mere nothing, St Cyr and Bessé † refuse me food. This it is, to live to the age of eighty ! Would you then have posterity say, This woman, who, in her time, made so conspicuous a figure, had many children at St Cyr ; yet died for want of broth.’

† Bessé was either her chamber-maid or surgeon. There was, at that time, a surgeon of the name.

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mother disputed the first rank with her; but the Regent decided in favour of his daughter. Proud of the superiority thus obtained, she, on every occasion, ostentatiously availed herself of it. She affected to appear, at public places, under a canopy, surrounded with guards, and attended by a splendid Court. She constantly took the precedence of her mother, without regard to propriety or decorum; but her irregularities gave her mother still greater pain than her insolence.

While her husband lived with her, the Dutchess of Berry had been far from prudent in her conduct; and she became still less so in her widowhood. Her life was divided between debauchery and devotion; a mode of conduct which, though not uncommon among women, is always beheld with surprise. Debauchery had, however, the greater share. But if the indulgence of her passion was agreeable, it often carried its punishment with it.

‘ After some temporary intrigues, she became
 ‘ at last desperately fond of Count Riom, a
 ‘ younger son of the family of Aidie, neither re-
 ‘ markable for wit, nor for a handsome * figure.
 ‘ His friends had brought him to Court, that he
 ‘ might be in the way of advancement; and he
 ‘ no sooner appeared, than he took the Princess’s
 ‘ fancy,

* ‘ He had fine teeth,’ adds St Simon, ‘ was of a short
 ‘ thick make, chub-cheeked, pale, pimpled, and not unlike
 ‘ an Abbé.’

‘ fancy, and she became fond of him to a de-
 ‘ gree of extravagance. She made him Captain
 ‘ of her guards, and he soon became as despotic
 ‘ at Luxembourg, as Lauzun had been, whose
 ‘ relation he was, and whose lessons he received.
 ‘ Like the favourite of Lewis XIII.’s niece, the
 ‘ favourite of Lewis XIV.’s grand-niece, assu-
 ‘ med such authority over his Princess, as to
 ‘ confine her to an implicit subjection to his
 ‘ pleasure. Without his permission, she durst
 ‘ not do even the most indifferent and trifling
 ‘ action. He would make her stay at home,
 ‘ when going out; and often go out against her
 ‘ will. He obliged her to show marks of fa-
 ‘ vour to ladies whom she did not like, and to
 ‘ dismiss persons agreeable to herself, on pre-
 ‘ tence that he was jealous of them; while he
 ‘ laid himself under no restraint, and laughed
 ‘ at her jealousy and tears.’ A good lesson this
 to Princesses, who thus degrade themselves!

She endeavoured to fix his constancy by her
 generosity. Rich clothes, expensive laces, jew-
 els, and toys, were liberally lavished upon him.
 But Lauzun, with *his* experience in profusion,
 thought his equipage shabby: ‘ Cousin,’ said
 he, one day, ‘ when I used to lie at Luxem-
 ‘ bourg, my horse furniture was double em-
 ‘ broidered.’

To give the finishing stroke to the character
 of this haughty Princess, so completely subju-
 gated by her passion to the caprice of a lover,
 whom

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whom her weakness emboldened even to insolence, we may add, That ‘ even in her dress, ‘ she was not at liberty to follow her own taste. ‘ Riom diverted himself with making her change ‘ her head-dress and her clothes, when she was ‘ dressed, and ready to make her appearance. ‘ He accustomed her to receive his orders in the ‘ evening, for the next day; and when the ‘ next day came, he would be of a different ‘ humour, and make her change her dress and ‘ arrangements. While she was at her toilet, ‘ messages were constantly passing between them, ‘ letting her know what colours, what ribbons ‘ she should wear; and she was often obliged ‘ to put on what she did not herself approve. ‘ And, had he but returned her submission with ‘ that attention in public, which she seemed ‘ weakly to implore of him! but, if she used ‘ the smallest freedom in any thing, without ‘ his permission, she was sure of reproaches, ‘ reprimands, indiscreet replies, or at least of ‘ cold ill-natured looks, which those present ‘ could not observe without confusion. She, in ‘ the mean time, slave as she was to her unhappy passion, only strove, with new anxiety, ‘ to regain his favour, by flattery and submission; from which she could not refrain, even ‘ in company. When serious quarrels arose, ‘ Madame de Mouchy, Lady of the Bed-chamber, a relation of Riom’s, confident of their ‘ secrets, and suspected to be a fortunate rival

‘ to

‘ to the Princess, though *she* never imagined any PART IV.
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‘ such thing, made up matters between them ;
‘ being herself greatly interested to keep up an
‘ intrigue, by which she was maintained in o-
‘ pulence and pleasure.

‘ The pleasures in which the Dutchess of Berry
‘ indulged were, at times, interrupted by re-
‘ morse. To regain her tranquillity, and form
‘ good resolutions, she retired from time to time
‘ to the convent of the Carmelite nuns, where
‘ she had an apartment prepared for her. She
‘ never failed to go thither at the greater festi-
‘ vals, and spend several days there, in the ex-
‘ act observance of the duties of the day, often
‘ prolonging them through great part of the
‘ night, taking no food but what she received
‘ from the convent, and scrupulously rigid in
‘ fasting and abstinence. Two nuns of good un-
‘ derstandings, and well acquainted with the
‘ world, had the care of receiving and entertain-
‘ ing her. Struck with the inconsistency of her
‘ conduct, they mentioned to her, that leading,
‘ as she did, a life of such strange and open irre-
‘ gularity, which even they, in their cloister,
‘ could not avoid hearing of, they could not i-
‘ magine for what purpose she retired to their
‘ convent. The Princess smiled at their frank-
‘ ness, and listened to their remonstrances, which
‘ were sometimes rather severe, without impa-
‘ tience or resentment ; but, at the same time,
‘ without changing her way of life, either when
‘ with them, or at Luxembourg.’

She

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She was thought to have been married to him*; and their intimacy was suspected to have been followed by the usual consequences; for she had the public excluded from the gardens at Luxembourg, that she might walk in them without being seen; she retired for weeks together to la Muette, as if on purpose to conceal herself; and all at once left off riding,—an exercise of which till then she had been very fond. These precautions gave rise to suspicions, which indeed might possibly have arisen, though no such precautions had been taken. But the Regent, her father, as commonly happens in such cases with those who are chiefly concerned, never once imagined any thing of the matter.

The seals
 given to
 d'Argenson.

That Prince was now beginning to find himself involved in perplexities. The Parliament shewed some dissatisfaction about a new coinage, of which neither the purity nor the reasons were to be communicated to them,—and at the success of the Bank, to which the funds of some trading companies having been added, it now threatened to swallow all up. The Regent became sensible that, in such circumstances, d'Aguesseau was not a fit man to support him. He therefore took the seals out of his hands, and gave them to M. d'Argenson.

‘ This Magistrate having been twenty years
 ‘ intrusted with regulating the police of Paris, had
 ‘ therefore

* La Beaumelle, t. 5. p. 319.

‘ therefore acquired such comprehension of mind
 ‘ and such penetration, as enabled him to see at
 ‘ a glance, upon any occasion, the point of diffi-
 ‘ culty and the means to get quit of it. He
 ‘ knew the Parliament as thoroughly as great
 ‘ Generals know those with whom they have
 ‘ been in constant war,—as well as the Duke of
 ‘ Vendome knew Eugene, or Villars Marlbo-
 ‘ rough. He was equally well acquainted with
 ‘ the Court, and knew how to conduct himself
 ‘ with persons of quality, without fearing or of-
 ‘ fending them.’ This character of a father,
 drawn by his son, may appear flattering; but
 St Simon, who is seldom liberal in his praises,
 gives the same outline; only he adds, that
 ‘ d’Argenson, during his administration, reigned
 ‘ uncontrolled,’ which is saying a great deal.
 He boasts of having proposed him to the Re-
 gent ‘ as a proper person for Comptroller of the
 ‘ Finances and Keeper of the Seals, without
 ‘ knowing that, under the late King, he had se-
 ‘ cretly cultivated the favour of the legitimated
 ‘ Princes, and was still in greater intimacy with
 ‘ them than he imagined.’

Such a connection was indeed very far from
 being a recommendation at Court, at a time
 when it was in contemplation to divest the Duke
 of Maine of the few privileges still left him.
 The intrigues which introduced and followed
 this enterprise, are to be considered as being, at

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once, a State affair, a family quarrel, and the operation of hatred and revenge.

A stranger was at this time labouring to revive the genius of Spain, to re-establish the strength of their armies, to restore to the nation their former energy of character, and to the kingdom its ancient splendour. Alberoni, the man who attempted this arduous task, had to strive against the indolence and inactivity of the King, and sometimes of the Queen herself, for whose service he had undertaken it.

Philip V.
 and Eliz.
 Farnese.

The mode of life which Philip V. led, is unexampled in history. He lived more solitary in his Court than an anchorite in the desert. With his first wife, Louisa of Savoy, he saw none but her and the Princess d'Urfini. After his marriage with Elizabeth Farnese, he confined himself equally to her society and that of Cardinal Alberoni. All those actions which he was obliged to perform in his character of Sovereign, were marked with indifference and constraint. When he gave public audience, his manner was frigid and inanimate to the last degree. He listened to those who addressed him, and received any papers presented to him, but retired almost always without uttering a word, or even deigning a nod. With his Ministers, Philip seldom determined upon anything at the first. They had to wait till he had consulted with the Queen in private. He would sometimes retire to the other end, and recline in a pensive posture on a couch,

couch, leaving her to explain herself to the Minister. Like the priests of the false gods of old, she went from time to time to consult the idol, who returned his oracular responses in a low voice, and she no doubt, as well as they, altered or interpreted them agreeably to her own pleasure.

This indolence notwithstanding, Alberoni found even the character of Philip favourable to his enterprises. ‘ The Monarch was possessed of good principles, was capable of clear apprehension, when he took the trouble to think on any affair, and adhered inflexibly to his resolutions. He was fond of bold, splendid undertakings, and wished to make a figure among the Kings of Europe. Such being his Majesty’s dispositions, Alberoni, when raised to the dignity of Prime Minister, re-established the Monarch’s authority in the government. He corrected many abuses, and produced many salutary institutions. He reformed the army, improved the administration of the finances, and entered into measures which threatened to render Spain the arbiter of Europe.’

Although the Queen possessed a strong understanding, yet, as her acquaintance with business was but very superficial, the Minister found his genius sometimes cramped by her fears, that his daring projects to procure establishments to her children, might prove prejudicial to herself. Sometimes, too, he saw himself thwarted by the

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unseasonable wishes of that Princess. While he was hard put to it to contrive ways and means for supplying the expences of the war, she, one day, made an urgent demand upon him for money to carry on her buildings at St Ildefonso. He abruptly replied, as if actuated by a spirit of prophecy, ‘ You have a violent inclination, then, to be nothing more but Countess of St Ildefonso *.’

The disaffection of the Spaniards to their Queen opposed other obstacles to the projects of Alberoni. They had wished their Monarch to marry a Spanish lady instead of her; and Elizabeth never forgave them for wishing to see their Crown rather on the head of another. ‘ This she very openly and very imprudently avowed. She has said even to myself,’ says St Simon, “ the Spaniards don’t love me, but I also “ hate them heartily.” This mutual aversion continually increased, as the Queen, in distrust of the Spaniards, used all her influence to put all posts and employments into the hands of the Italians and Flemish. The discontented grandees communicated their sentiments to the people; and the Queen was often, as she passed through the streets, assailed with shouts of *the Savoyard for ever!* She pretended to despise the insult;

* The King of Spain gave up the Crown to his son the Prince of the Asturias, who died the same year, and Philip then resumed the Regal power.

insult; but with all her dissimulation it was plain that she was deeply mortified.

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The Minister being entirely of Elizabeth's choice, and forming enterprises to aggrandize her and her children, had all the difficulties to encounter, that the disaffection of leaders and their subordinates could raise in his way, without exposing or involving themselves. But the genius of Alberoni triumphed over every obstacle. From that exhausted kingdom he produced an armament which astonished Europe. Sardinia was invaded. Thirty thousand Spaniards made a descent to conquer Sicily. Naval armaments were fitted out in every port. A very formidable squadron was equipped at Cadiz. The Minister, at the same time, regained to Spain that importance in the Courts of Europe which she had long lost. He formed alliances in the north, secured the aid of the Turks,—and being certain that, in consequence of the quadruple alliance between France, England and Holland, by which the Emperor was guaranteed in the possession of his Italian dominions, even the neutrality of these powers was not to be hoped for,—Alberoni resolved to land the Pretender in Britain with a military force, to engage the English, and proposed no less than to effect a revolution in the French Government by the fall of the Regent.

The season was well chosen. There was indeed no open insurrection, nor yet loud com-

Disposition
of the na-
tion toward
the Regent

A a 3

plaints:

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plaints : But a sullen dissatisfaction prevailed through the kingdom in general : The body politic laboured under a kind of indisposition ; a sort of unsettled and vague uneasiness, produced by the idea that public affairs were in general ill managed. For instance, the nation were dissatisfied to see the English, who but four years ago, were so inveterately inimical to France, as to shew a disposition to ruin themselves if they could but accomplish her destruction,—now admitted into the familiarity of the Regent, domineering in the Council, and prescribing laws to the nation. The English ! a nation, it was said, incapable of moderation in prosperity, abusing fortune as a natural right ; haughty republicans ! who prosecuted their resentments with all the implacability of the ancient Romans ; and who were not ashamed to require of the Duke of Orleans, what no Sovereign would have asked of another, the sacrifice of the unfortunate Pretender. So direct a deviation from the system of Lewis XIV. disgusted even those who were attached to it only through habit. Few approved of the Regent's administration in this instance.

The nation no longer cherished the hopes of seeing the Regent's administration tempered with paternal prudence, œconomy and wisdom, which they had fondly conceived, when, in the beginning of his Regency, he established the different Councils, and restored to the Parliament

ment their right of remonstrating. The Councils, sometimes presuming to thwart the Regent, began to give offence; and those whose sagacity enabled them to foretell events from their causes, foresaw that they would soon be abolished. Remonstrances were not absolutely forbidden; but there were certain heads on which they were not suffered to touch. They were to be circumscribed within narrow limits as to both matter and form; and those limits were supposed to have been fixed, in order to involve the operations of the Minister in mysterious obscurity; and therefore afforded room for conjectures from which sprung suspicions and fears.

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Respect to decency of morals, had also some share in producing the general dissatisfaction. Although not scrupulously rigid, we are never pleased to see the laws of decency openly scorned, and wantonly violated. Several who approved not the scruples of Lewis XIV. beheld with still stronger disapprobation the licentious libertinism which now succeeded, and infected almost all the youth of the Court. Those, indeed, who make themselves merry, go the world how it will, might sometimes laugh at the profane wit of the Duke of Orleans; but persons of greater prudence, who looked forward to consequences, could not but be shocked at the levity of insult with which the first man in the nation

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treated religion and its ministers *. A general indignation at the same time arose, at seeing the base and contemptible Dubois now advanced to act an important part; that worthless ecclesiastic even presumed so much on the facility of disposition of his old pupil, as to aspire openly to the first dignities in the church. Whereas, not only for the profligacy of his life, but for another reason, 'which,' says St Simon, 'has been made sufficiently public; and yet denied or contradicted by no person, he should never have been invested with any ecclesiastical character.' He gives the following recital of the anecdote.

Dubois's
marriage.

'Abbé Dubois, whose base character rendered it impossible for him to succeed in any other but the ecclesiastical career, saw his progress even in that stopped short by the ties of a legal marriage, contracted with all the due formalities in the district of Limoges. The Intendant of that Province was a *petit maitre*, whose attention was more taken up with his pleasures than with the duties of his office, and formed to raise himself rather by petty and ignominious services than by his merit; in short, the fittest person whom the Abbé could have found to execute the commission in which he meant to employ him, and on account of which he sent for him to Paris. After receiving his lesson

* After promoting a number of Bishops, he said, 'Sure the Jansenists won't complain; for I have given all to grace, and nothing to good works.'

‘ lesson, he returned to his Province on pre-
‘ tence of business, set out from Limoges with
‘ two attendants, ordered his journey so as to
‘ stop in the evening at the village where the
‘ marriage had been celebrated, called on the
‘ Vicar, as there was no inn, and told him, that
‘ he must, for one night, exercise his hospitality
‘ towards a man who was surpris’d by night,
‘ and was so faint with hunger and thirst, that
‘ he could not proceed farther.

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‘ The good Vicar, quite happy to entertain
‘ so great a man as the Intendant, made ready,
‘ in haste, what he had in the house. While
‘ they were at supper, the Vicar’s maid enter-
‘ tained the Intendant’s servants, their master
‘ having dexterously contrived to be left alone
‘ with the Vicar. The Intendant, being an
‘ experienced drinker, pretended to find the
‘ supper good, and the wine still better. They
‘ continued to converse over their bottle with
‘ a degree of familiarity with which the Vicar
‘ was highly pleas’d. The Intendant, seem-
‘ ingly by accident, turned the conversation on
‘ the parish register, and ask’d whether it were
‘ regularly kept? After obtaining what inform-
‘ ation he wanted, he put about the bottle till
‘ the good Vicar no longer retained the use of
‘ his senses, then seiz’d his keys, opened the
‘ chest in which the parish register was kept, tore
‘ out the leaf which he wanted, restor’d every
‘ thing to its proper place, and set off by day-
‘ break, leaving some pistoles to the maid.

‘ He

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‘ He next went to Brive-la-Gaillarde, where
‘ the contract had been executed. Partly by
‘ compulsion, in part voluntarily, and induced
‘ by a good sum of money, the Notary delivered
‘ up the deed. The Intendant went next to
‘ the Lady, promising wonders if she would con-
‘ ceal her marriage, and threatening, if she were
‘ refractory, a prison and a dungeon for life;
‘ letting her know farther, that her claims and
‘ remonstrances would be unavailing, as mea-
‘ sures had been taken to render proof impos-
‘ sible. She prudently submitted; and care was
‘ no doubt taken to place her in such circum-
‘ stances in her native Province, as would con-
‘ sole her for the loss of her husband *.’

Bed of Ju-
stice. The
Duke of
Maine af-
fronted.

Dubois contributed, at least by his advice, to
the renewed persecution to which the Duke of
Maine was now exposed. He had a personal
grudge against him for having made a strong
opposition in the Council to the quadruple al-
liance; and therefore joined the Duke of Bour-
bon, who still persisted in his inveteracy, and
would not rest till he saw the Duke of Maine
stripped of every honour. The Dutchess of
Maine, foreseeing the storm, endeavoured, some
days

* She came to Paris after his death, and received a con-
siderable share of the immense fortune which he left. She li-
ved comfortably for twenty years after the Cardinal, by
whom she had no children. Dubois’ brother, an honest wor-
thy man, continued always on good terms with her. *St Si-
mon.*

days before, to avert it, by coming to an explanation with the Regent. The conference was animated, but produced no effect. The Prince had been persuaded, that the Duke of Maine had an intention to bring the King into Parliament, and have him declared major, in order to terminate the power of the Regent. ‘I don’t believe it,’ replied Marshal Villars, when the Duke of Orleans mentioned this scheme to him; ‘I don’t think the Duke of Maine has so much vigour of mind.’ In fact, the weakness of that Prince’s conduct on so important an occasion, confirms the Marshal’s opinion. Villars was an eye-witness of what passed; I shall, therefore, give it in his own words: ‘On the 26th of August, at six in the morning, the Counsellors of the Regency were summoned to an extraordinary Council, which was to be followed by a Bed of Justice in the Tuileries. When I entered the Council-chamber, I found the Regent there, walking about with an appearance of great agitation. The Duke of Maine came up and said to me, ‘Some very violent measure is going to be taken against my brother and me.’ ‘I can hardly think it,’ returned I. The only answer he made was, ‘I know it to be so.’ The Count of Toulouse came in. The Regent took him aside; and after a short conversation between them, the Count turned from him to the Duke of Maine, and they went out together. I then said to

‘ the

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‘ the Marquis d’Effiat, ‘ They are gone ; who-
“ ever leaves the party, loses it.”

The edicts which were to be registered, were then read. One enjoined the Parliament not to intermeddle in State affairs ; another declared, that every edict should be held as registered in eight days after it were presented for registration. The edict respecting the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse bore, That at the desire of the Peers, they were degraded from the rank in Parliament and elsewhere, to which they had been raised by the late King ; and were of consequence to rank after all the Peers of France, except such as had been created since the edict of 1694. Yet the King, out of his particular regard to the Count of Toulouse, reserved to him his honours, rank and privileges ; but not to his heirs.

The Duke of Bourbon then read a memoir of this purport : ‘ Sire, the late King seemed to
‘ wish, that the Duke of Maine should be in-
‘ trusted with the care of your Majesty’s educa-
‘ tion ; and, in consideration of being under
‘ age, I then made no opposition to his Majesty’s
‘ inclination, although my birth and precedents
‘ appeared to entitle me to the place. But, as
‘ the reasons which then rendered it proper to
‘ appoint another, have now ceased, I demand
‘ the honour which is mine by right.’

All this was read anew to the Parliament assembled in an adjoining apartment. What related

ted to themselves they did not hear with great complacency, and the first President asked time to consider. The Lord Keeper, after first going up to the King, seemingly to receive his commands, replied, 'His Majesty will be instantly obeyed.' The Regent gave his advice aloud, to the young Monarch, to grant the demand of the Duke of Bourbon.

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'Several Peers were surprised to hear themselves named in the edict, by which the Duke of Maine was reduced to the rank of a Peer, and in that by which the Count of Toulouse was distinguished by gentler treatment. Both edicts were expressed as if they had been issued at the request of the Peers, while most of them were absolute strangers to the measure, till it was thus announced. But as many were sorry to see a son of the late King degraded from his rank; so they all accorded readily to the favour which was shewn his brother. They both retired to the Duke of Maine's apartments; but had they had courage to appear at the Bed of Justice, and to remonstrate with dignity against the wrong done, especially to the Duke of Maine, by depriving him of the care of the King's education and person, which was with great propriety intrusted to him, rather than to the presumptive heirs of the Crown, they could not have failed at least to raise difficulties in the way of the designs formed against them. But they were struck with the
'fear

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‘ fear of being arrested ; for, though they were
‘ both endowed with excellent qualities, fortitude was not the most eminent feature in either character.

‘ But so far was the Duke of Maine from making any exertions to retain an office to which he was, at least, indifferent, that, before this event, he had said to Marshal Villars, that, though he enjoyed the honour of superintending the King’s education, yet, exposed as he was to such a multitude of vexations, he would give ten thousand crowns for a *lettre de cachet*, ordering him to retire for five years to his estate. It is probable, that the Dutcheſs valued this honour more than her husband ; for when she received an order to give up the Duke of Bourbon the apartments in the Tuileries which her husband had occupied as superintendant of the King’s education, she, in a fury, replied, “ Yes, I shall give them up.” And she instantly ordered the furniture to be removed ; and that it might be the more expeditiously done, broke with her own hands crystal vases, china ware, and all that came in her way.’

This must have been the time at which that Princess began to form suspicious connections, and to engage in those treasonable practices, which threatened the tranquillity of the State. As she was thought to be highly irritated, and as nobody of her disposition would fail to avenge herself if an opportunity should occur, all dissatisfied

tified persons flocked about her, and those were not a few.

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Not only had the Parliament been harshly treated at the Bed of Justice, but the Regent had caused three Counsellors, who seemed to be the most refractory, to be taken up and put into prison; an act of severity which excited a great ferment, as well in the city of Paris, as among that body. The same rigour being exercised on the other Parliaments, particularly on that of Brittany, communicated the alarm through the provinces. The Councils which had been established by the Duke of Orleans in the beginning of his Regency, were at the same time abolished; and departments under the direction of the Secretaries of State, who were more immediately dependent on the Regent, substituted in their room; and this measure, among others, contributed greatly to excite a general discontent and murmuring among the great families and the Supreme Courts, who thought themselves robbed of a valuable privilege.

Families likewise suffered immense losses by the falling of the value of the State bills, and bonds, which had been given as securities for the debts contracted by Lewis XIV. in the period of his difficulties, and of which there was a prodigious number in the hands of the public. Sixty eight and a half was lost on those securities, while bank-bills rose fifteen *per cent.* The Treasury received the government securities at thirty-one and a half *per cent.* and delivered in payment

The Agie.

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ment, bank-bills at an hundred and fifteen. Thus the public debts were discharged for a trifle, and the Government carried on a profitable traffic in paying them. But private persons were ruined, and pillaged of two-thirds of their property.

What rendered every person so anxious to get quit of those discredited bills, was an opinion, cunningly circulated, that the Government securities must fall in value, till they came absolutely to nothing : Whereas the Bank, supported as it was by the flourishing trade to the Mississippi, of which wonders were told,—by the farm of all the tobacco imported into the kingdom, and by the near prospect of the additional farm of all the public revenue, could not but prosper ; and, of consequence, raise the fortunes of those concerned in it to a pitch of opulence, above what imagination could conceive.

As the value of the Government securities fell gradually, and the bank-bills did not rise all at once, a set of speculators or stockjobbers arose, who carried on a species of trade or gaming upon the comparative fluctuations of the two. When the government securities fell low, those people purchased them in the hope of their rising ; and, again, when their value rose ever so little, sold them for bank bills. When, on the other hand, the credit of the Bank appeared to stagnate, the stockjobbers affected to purchase the government securities with great eagerness,
by

by which means they were enabled to buy bank-stock at an under rate; and they knew that its credit was soon to revive. It is remarkable, that these alternations in the value of the government securities and the bank-stock would vary several times in the course of a day. It is this species of traffic or gaming to which the name *Agio* has been applied; a word of which it would be difficult to trace the origin, unless we were to derive it from the Latin *agere*, as none are more industriously active, or more vigilantly attentive to what is going on than stockjobbers.

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Law, who poised the scale in this traffic, forgot not to care for himself. In less than a month he bought the county d'Evreux for eight hundred thousand livres, as well as the county of Tancarville in Normandy. He offered to the Prince of Carignan fourteen hundred thousand livres for the palace of Soissons. Within a few days he paid the Marchioness de Beuvnor five hundred thousand livres for an estate. Nearly at the same time he was on terms with the Duke of Sully, for the purchase of the Marquisate of Rosny.

His amassing such enormous sums in so short a space, and laying them out so liberally, led people to think, that he had much more wealth disposed of in a more secret manner. Many began to open their eyes. It was observed, that the Director of the Bank could not have acquired such a fortune, if many others had not lost, or,

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at least, exposed themselves to the danger of losing. The Parliament was alarmed, and issued an arret against Law, which, instead of citing his appearance, was an order for taking him into custody. But the Regent protected him, and Law went on to make people happy and miserable as before ;—but the numbers of those whom he made miserable, were many more than those whom he made happy.

Alberoni kept an attentive eye on what was going on in France. The Regent and the English pressed him to give the accession of Spain to the quadruple alliance ; but he did all that he could to procure delays ; and, in the mean time, endeavoured to establish the Spaniards in Sicily. Whilst he kept the English on the watch, to attack the fleet which he was dispatching from Cadiz, he hoped to raise up to the Duke of Orleans a scene of perplexity which should render him incapable of any effective operations.

It is hard to say, whether the project which, at this time, came to light, originated from the Spanish minister, or from the discontent of the French nation. But there was, at least, a mutual understanding between these two parties. It may be presumed, that the Dutchess of Maine was not among the last to seize, or even to bring forward occasions for injuring the Regent. In her first application to the Court of Madrid, says Madame de-Staal, she sought only to engage the King of Spain to support the Duke of Maine and

and his oppressed family. It became necessary for her agent to see Cardinal Alberoni, in order to discover how far he would espouse her interests ; and, to induce him to persuade the King his master, out of regard to the proximity of blood, and respect to the will of the deceased King his grandfather, to take her family under her protection. But, beyond this, she enjoined the person whom she intrusted with the affair, not to proceed.

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However, having either given these limited instructions only with a view to ascertain what grounds she would have to proceed upon, or tempted by the reception which her advances met with, she entered into a regular, but very secret and mysterious correspondence with the Spanish ambassador. ‘ I pretend not,’ says the same confident, ‘ to explain the plan. That I never understood ; and, perhaps, they had none. All that I could discover was, that they wished to divert the King of Spain from acceding to the quadruple alliance, which was so very favourable to the Duke of Orleans ; and to prevail with him to have the States-General assembled, to limit the authority of the Duke of Orleans, and reform the abuses of his government.’

This seems plainly to have been the end at which they aimed ; and it was probably the perplexity of the measures which they employed, that rendered Madame de Staal unable to comprehend their plan. She says, that the Dutchess

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of Maine insisted at first only on the former article, the necessity of preventing the Spanish Monarch from acceding to the quadruple alliance; but that when the Dutchess saw the Prince of Cellamare disposed to make his master demand the assembling of the States-General, she obliged M. de Malezieu to assist Cardinal Polignac, in making out forms of letters to be sent from the Spanish Monarch to the young King his nephew, to the Parliament, and even to the States-General. Those letters were to require, not only that France should reject the quadruple alliance, but also to demand, in express terms, that the Duke of Orleans should be divested of the Regency, for having abused his authority, and the powers of Regent transferred to the King of Spain, who was best entitled to them.

The ambassador was sensible, that it would be impossible to succeed in such an enterprise without the aid of a strong party. He therefore entered, as well by himself as by his emissaries, into intrigues with persons of all sorts, noblemen, soldiers, priests, monks, private gentlemen, magistrates. He was little concerned about their views or interests, or their disposition to concur in one enterprise; knowing, that when it became proper to bring matters to a crisis, hatred of the Regent, love of novelty, fear of being left alone, would easily induce them to join the faction he wished. A great many factions sprung up, each of which had its particular secrets, and endeavoured

voured to increase the number of its associates. As usual, with people of warm imaginations, who always flatter themselves with the hopes of success, those conspirators, especially the subalterns among them, persuaded themselves that all who were not openly hostile to their purposes, were disposed to co-operate zealously with them. Cellamare, no less sanguine than they, gave Alberoni such an account of his success, as made him think the Regent already as good as degraded.

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A revolution in France was become, in some measure, necessary to the Cardinal's affairs; and the more so, as the English, provoked by his delays, had determined to attack Spain. They fought out, attacked, and defeated the fleet which was conveying succours to the army in Sicily. The Cardinal, enraged at this check, and finding himself threatened by France at the same time, wrote to the ambassador, to set fire to the train which he had laid.

While this order was sent to Paris, Prince Cellamare sent to Madrid forms of letters and other pieces, on which he wanted the minister's opinion, before he should make use of them. He thought he had found a very safe mode of conveyance, when he intrusted them to the Abbé Porto-Carrero, nephew to a Cardinal of the same name, who was travelling into Spain, with Monteleone, son to the Spanish Ambassador in England. Their chaise had a false bottom, and under it the papers were concealed.

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Messages, meetings, and conferences among the persons concerned, could not but excite some suspicion of what was going on. The Dutchess of Maine was observed, and her motions watched. No person went to her house day or night, openly or in disguise, without being known. Yet with all this vigilance and pains, the Duke of Orleans would, perhaps, have failed to discover the secret, but for an accident, of which two different accounts are given.

The former was generally believed, as it derived probability from the manners of the Regent and his confidants. The Spanish Ambassador's Secretary, to excuse himself for failing in an assignation with a lady famous in the annals of libertinism, told her, that the multitude of the dispatches which he had been obliged to make up before the departure of the Abbé Porto-Carrero, had rendered it impossible for him to keep his appointment. The lady being in habits of intimacy with the Regent, looked upon this as a matter of more than mere indifference, and communicated it to him. The consequence was, that he sent off a courier with orders to relieve the travellers of their dispatches.

The other account, which is less extraordinary, and perhaps nearer the truth, is given in the *Memoirs of Dangeau*. He says, that the two Abbés being furnished with passports for themselves and their attendants, had suffered a Spanish banker, who had failed for a large sum in London, to accompany

company them. The English, who had lost by his failure, pursued the banker, with a warrant to seize him, wherever he should be found. They came up with him at Poitiers; and, when searching for his papers, among the baggage of his protectors, found those of the Spanish Ambassador, which they seized, and left Porto-Carrero to continue his journey.

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He dispatched a courier to Prince Cellamare, who brought him the news before the arrival of the person who carried the papers to the Regent. 'It was at night the Regent received them, and he was not then disposed to attend to so troublesome a piece of business. It has been said too, that he was advised to defer the opening of them by a lady who was then with him, and was little concerned about state affairs*.' The Ambassador thus obtained time to dispose of the most dangerous of his papers; and he, next day, ventured to reclaim those which had been seized. He received no answer, but that of being put under arrest in his own palace, from which he was conveyed to Blois, and there remained till the Duke de St Aignan, Ambassador to Spain, returned to France.

One of his accomplices, of whom Prince Cellamare was most afraid, was an Abbé Brigaut, the most bustling man in the party, well known as a genius for intrigue, who, having been already concerned in other similar affairs, particular-

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* Staal, t. 2. p. 51.

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ly in that of the Pretender, might the more readily attract the notice of government. The Ambassador sent him an hundred *louis d'ors*, and his best horse to make his escape. The Abbé changed his dress, set out, kept the highway, and in three days was at the distance of twenty leagues from Paris, between Nemours and Montargis, where he was taken. Several others who had not had the same time as he to exert their activity, were also arrested. The Bastille was filled. Every day some new accomplice was taken up. And, as the emissaries of Spain had addressed themselves to great numbers, those to whom they had only spoken, not knowing whether they were not also inserted in the list of the associates, began to be afraid for themselves, and the alarm became general.

Fears of the
Dutchess of
Maine.

The anxiety and alarm of the Dutchess of Maine were the greater, as she was obliged to repress all expressions of them, and wear a cheerful countenance. Madame de Staal gives us an idea of her situation, by relating an adventure, which, in any other case, would not have been very remarkable. ‘She was playing, as usual, at her favourite game, for she was careful to alter nothing in her mode of living. A M. de Chatillon, who held the bank, a man of a cool temper, and accustomed to speak without thinking, suddenly said, ‘Very pleasant news, truly; I hear there has been arrested, and sent to the Bastille, for this affair of the Spanish Ambassa-

“ dor,

“dor, a certain Abbé Bri—— Bri——, I can't
 “recollect his name.’ Those in the company
 “who knew the name, were nowise disposed to
 “help him out with it. He at last found it;
 “Brigaut; and what is still more pleasant, he
 “has told every thing, and people are in great
 “perplexity.’ He then, for the first time in his
 “life, perhaps, burst out a-laughing. ‘Yes,’ re-
 “plied the Dutchess of Maine, ‘that is very plea-
 “sant, to be sure, enough to make one die of
 “laughing.’ ‘Only think,’ returned he, ‘those
 “people thought their secrets impenetrable; and
 “here is a man who tells more than is asked, and
 “mentions every person by name.’ This last
 “stroke threw the Princess into the most cruel
 “and unexpected distress; for she had been told,
 “that the Abbé had made his escape, and, that
 “such effectual measures had been taken, as left
 “nothing to be feared on that head. Yet she bore
 “all that M. de Chatillon said, without suffering
 “any thing expressive of her anxiety to escape
 “her. At night she repeated the incident to me,
 “when we were alone together, and expressed an
 “uneasiness and anxiety which I could not dis-
 “pel, as my forebodings of the fate which await-
 “ed her were but too strong.’

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After passing a few more days and nights in
 all the horrors of approaching imprisonment, the
 Dutchess of Maine was arrested at Paris on the
 29th of December, and the Duke at Sceaux, and
 immediately conveyed, she to the Citadel of Dy-
 on,

The Dut-
 chess ar-
 rested.

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on, and he to the Castle of Dourlens. Several of their domestics or confidants were put into the Bastille ; and, among others, Mademoiselle de Launay, afterwards Madame de Staal. The Prince de Dombes, and Count d'Eu, their sons, were banished to the city of Eu, Mademoiselle de Maine to a convent within the visitation of Chaillot, and Cardinal Polignac to his Abbey d'Anchin, in Flanders. They depended for their information, no doubt, on the subordinates, since they sent the heads of the conspiracy to such a distance.

The Regent, to justify these violent measures to the nation, caused three letters to be printed, that had been found among the papers of Porto-Carrero, and were intended to have been addressed by the King of Spain, one to the King of France, the other to the Parliament, the third to the States-General when they should assemble ; and a fourth entitled, *Requests of the States, to his Catholic Majesty*, to induce him to assume the Regency of the kingdom, or to make provision for it, if he should not come to take it upon himself. In those pieces, however, there were some things on which it would have been of consequence to the Regent not to give too much room for reflection. Speaking of the Parliament, the writers said, ‘ That body, in whom the power of
‘ deciding with respect to the Regency, has been
‘ recognised,—to whom application was made for
‘ the investiture of the office,—with whom condi-
‘ tions

' tions were stipulated, when it was received from PART IV.
 ' their hands,—to whom it was publicly promi- 1718.
 ' sed, nay sworn, that all public business should
 ' be regulated by the majority of votes in the
 ' Council of Regency:—Not only are the most sage
 ' remonstrances of *that body* refused a hearing, but
 ' its most respectable members are excluded from
 ' the Councils. Because they represent the truth,
 ' not only are they denied a hearing, but when
 ' they apply to the King's servants in particular,
 ' they are answered in terms so affronting and
 ' disrespectful, that shame forbids the repeti-
 ' tion of them to your Majesty. The registers
 ' of Parliament will preserve them to the most
 ' distant posterity*.'

Those writers likewise said, ' That [the public
 ' had received no benefit either from the increase
 ' of the money in circulation, or from the tax on
 ' people of business. The same taxes were still
 ' levied, which the late King had been forced
 ' to impose, by the exigencies of war. But the
 ' King, when he took away with one hand, gave
 ' back with the other; and a circulation was
 ' thus produced, equally beneficial to the nobles
 ' and the people. At present, strangers, who
 ' knew

* This perhaps relates to what was at that time told of the
 Regent, that being one day pressed by the Crown lawyers
 about an important affair, he replied, ' Begone.' One of
 them answered, ' Is it your Royal Highness's pleasure that
 ' this answer be registered?' An indirect remonstrance which
 only made him laugh.

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‘knew how to address themselves to the reigning passion of the Regent, consumed the patrimony of the children of the State.’ They concluded, with great bitterness, in the following expressions: ‘The Duke of Orleans’ first object seems always to have been to distinguish himself by irreligion. Hence, that extreme profligacy and licentiousness in his manners, such as is unequalled in the annals even of the most corrupted ages, and which, having drawn upon him the contempt and abhorrence of the people, makes us tremble, lest the kingdom be visited by some awful stroke of divine vengeance.’

The same imprudent indulgence of passion, which occasioned the publication of these papers, was also the cause of their being accompanied with a declaration bearing, ‘that when the King’s service, and the precautions necessary for the safety and tranquillity of the State, should permit the publication of the other projects, manifestos, and memoirs, the nation would then be made fully acquainted with all the circumstances of this horrid conspiracy.’

Proceed-
ings against
the prisoners.

But when the prisoners were examined, instead of enormous crimes against the State, black conspiracies, and concerts for massacre and assassination, such as seemed to be hinted at in the above expressions, nothing more was discovered but an intention to procure an assembly of the States-General. And even this design, which was reprehensible, only because the persons who had
formed

formed it, had no right to call such an Assembly, and punishable, because, in the prosecution of it, they had formed connections with a foreign prince, who was indeed a relation of the Royal Family of France,—even this design was not proved to have existed, by any conclusive evidence. The papers seized in the possession of Porto-Carrero, did indeed render the Spanish Ambassador highly culpable, as having abused the privileges of his public character, to excite troubles in France; but then they tended not to criminate any person else; for, being only copies, not original papers, the persons named or designed in them, had it in their power to deny, and did actually deny, that they knew any thing of the matter.

The Commissaries employed to take cognizance of this affair, were M. d'Argenson, Keeper of the Seals, M. le Blanc, Secretary for War, with the Abbé Dubois. Madame de Staal compared them, when they entered the Bastille, to the three judges of the infernal regions, Rhadamanthus, Minos, and Eacus. They were very much at a loss how to make out, from the evidence given in before them, that horrid conspiracy which had been so solemnly announced to the public. None but the President de Malezieu and Cardinal de Polignac could be in strict justice brought in guilty. They indeed could not refuse having composed the letter which was to be
sent

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sent by the King of Spain, to request the calling of an Assembly of the States.

‘ The original of that piece, which had been
‘ written and corrected by the two together, was
‘ to have been burnt. The Cardinal being hur-
‘ ried to attend the King at mass, when it was
‘ copying out, recommended to the Dutcheis of
‘ Maine, to be sure of throwing it into the fire.
‘ Malezieu took it up with this intention ; but not
‘ doing it instantly, when he afterwards wished
‘ to burn it, he had forgot where it was laid, and
‘ could by no effort recollect. After being long
‘ anxious about the matter, he, at length, made
‘ himself easy in the idea, that it was no longer
‘ in existence. But, when he was arrested, the
‘ fatal scroll was found in his bureau, within his
‘ son’s marriage-contract. The instant he per-
‘ ceived it, he tore it into pieces, but the pieces
‘ were carefully gathered up, and preserved to
‘ be produced as evidences against him in the
‘ trial.’

There might have been many more to pro-
duce, had it not been for a generous action of a
Chevalier de Menil, a gentleman of Anjou, whose
conduct drew an encomium from the Duke of
Orleans himself. ‘ He was connected, but not
‘ intimately, with the Abbé Brigaut, who, at set-
‘ ting out, had sent him some papers, as deeds
‘ relative to family transactions, which he wish-
‘ ed to remain in his custody, till he should re-
‘ turn from a short excursion. The Chevalier
‘ received

received them without suspicion. But, on
learning what happened to Prince Cellamare,
as he knew the Abbé to have been particular-
ly connected with him, he began to doubt,
from his precipitate flight, that he might have
been engaged in the same affair. Becoming
now anxious about the deposit intrusted to his
care, although he knew the severity of the
edicts, he chose rather to expose himself to the
danger, than betray the trust even of a person
with whom he was not in habits of particular
friendship. Curiosity to discover the contents,
tempted him to break the seals, when he found
all the plans and memoirs relative to the Spa-
nish intrigue, of which he had been till that
moment entirely ignorant. He had not time
to read the whole, but in glancing them hastily
over, soon saw enough to satisfy him, that
they contained nothing really treasonable a-
gainst either the King or the State. But, find-
ing in them the names of many persons of di-
stinction who would be involved in the dis-
agreeable consequences of the affair, if this evi-
dence were produced against them, he resolved
to throw all the papers into the flames.'

When interrogated, he readily avowed what
he had done, and his motives. His frankness did
not protect him from imprisonment; and he was
detained in confinement for a considerable time.

A Marquis de Menil, of a different family,
hearing of his imprisonment, waited on the
Duke

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‘ Duke of Orleans to assure him, that he was no
‘ relation or friend to the Chevalier. ‘ So
“ much the worse for you, Monsieur,” replied
‘ the Prince, ‘ the Chevalier de Menil is a very
“ gallant man.’

To the honour of the Regent it must be acknowledged, that all the persons taken up upon this affair were treated with great lenity *, except only the Duke and Dutchess of Maine. The Dutchess, after being conveyed in a post-chaise to the Citadel of Dyon, suffered the mortification of being obliged to wait without accommodation, till a prison was built under her eye to receive her, there being no habitable apartment in the Citadel. The Duke again suffered from the keeper of the castle of Dourlens, every mark of contempt that can be inflicted by a harsh, unpolished jailor. He fell so seriously ill there, that the Regent was induced to think
of

* Madame de Staal, in her memoirs, v. 2. p. 240. relates a trifling circumstance, which marks, perhaps, better than others of more importance would, the native generosity of this Prince’s heart. ‘ The Count de L—,’ says she, ‘ in managing his correspondence, employed a surgeon, who performed likewise the part of apothecary. They agreed, in order that they might see each other oftener, that the Count needed to bathe twice a-day. The Regent, who entered himself into every minute particular, respecting us, ‘ happening to examine this among other circumstances, with his ministers, the Abbé Dubois exclaimed against such frequency of bathing ; ‘ Abbé,’ said the Duke, ‘ it would be “ too hard to deprive them of this amusement, as they have “ none else.”’

of putting an end to an affair, on account of which such a number of persons, many of them of the first families in the kingdom, had been so harassed for the space of six months, till their confinement was at length beginning to excite murmurs through the nation.

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After promising to exhibit to the public, proofs of a horrid conspiracy ; and, after causing all the Parliaments in the kingdom to fulminate their arrets against the writings of Cellamare, as seditious, insolent, calumnious, the Regent and his ministers were still at a loss to find what could be *so horrible* in that *dreadful machination*. Those counsellors who persuaded the Duke to make so much noise about the affair, seem to have been very desirous of finding the Duke of Maine guilty. In their eagerness to gratify this desire, they carried matters an unreasonable length : ‘ For one of the prisoners having written in his deposition, that the Dutchess of Maine had broken off a conversation with him upon the subject, when the Duke came in : The Commissary, hurt at hearing any thing exculpatory of that Prince, said to him, ‘ It is not an apology for the Duke of Maine that is asked of you ; erase this article.’ He erased it accordingly ; and the magistrate did not appear to discern, that, to refuse to hear any but facts upon one side, was prevarication in the discharge of his office.’

The Duke of Maine innocent.

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But,

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But, notwithstanding this partiality, the innocence of that prince was vindicated on all hands. There was not one of the accused, who did not declare it, even without being required. In the writing, which Madame de Staal was obliged to give in, before she could obtain her freedom, she, after giving an account of some connections which she had, with indifference as to her own part, formed and kept up with some intriguing persons, by order of the Princesses,—and saying, ‘These are the only things in which I had any share, or concerning which there was any thing known to me,’—added, although she knew this not to be the way to make her court: ‘I only observed farther, that the Dutchess of Maine was now and then uneasy and embarrassed about affairs, of which the particulars were not communicated to me; and remarked, that she was always in the greatest concern, lest the Duke should come to know any thing of them.’

The prisoners released.

These confessions in writing, were one mean contrived to terminate the affair, and give an appearance of generosity to the act of justice, by which the prisoners were set at liberty. ‘The Regent had determined not to release the chiefs or their adherents, without an acknowledgment on their part, which might serve as an apology for his conduct.’ The Dutchess of Maine made hers, and all the rest followed her example: But what is singular, every one of those declarations

clarations was previously concerted. In spite of bolts, jailors, and guards, the prisoners communicated their ideas to one another, agreed on what they were to discover, and what to conceal, and carried on a regular correspondence. The very expressions were settled upon beforehand, and all their pretended depositions so regulated, as to be perfectly consistent one with another. The Regent read them in Council, not surely as pieces sufficient to fix guilt upon the persons who had been accused, but rather to justify himself in some measure, for having made so much noise about the affair.

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The Dutchess of Maine was permitted to return to Sceaux. She had hoped to find the Duke her husband there; but he refused to meet her, out of resentment for the imprisonment which he had suffered through her imprudence. Yet he was at last prevailed upon, and returned to her. An accommodation with the Duke of Orleans was likewise obtained. The Dutchess offered an explanation. 'All is forgotten,' said the Duke; and he did indeed exclude it from his remembrance.

The Spanish minister has been blamed for forming so vague and loose a scheme; but the sole reason for its failure was, perhaps, its having been formed too late. Had it been brought forward while the Duke of Maine was superintendant of the King's education; had that Prince had the confidence to conduct the young King then in his power, to the Parliament; had he

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summoned in, to attend him, the principal noblemen, who were either partisans of the old government, or discontent with the new; had the Spanish fleet, at the same time, made its appearance on our coasts, and their army on our frontiers, and had the spirit of the capital been dexterously communicated through the provinces, the Regent would undoubtedly have found himself in the utmost perplexity, and Alberoni's project might, perhaps, have been crowned with success.

Spanish
war.

Its miscarriage produced between the Duke of Orleans and the Cardinal a rooted hatred, and engaged them in an open contest. They armed the two kingdoms, not so much to maintain or advance the interest of the respective nations, as to gratify their private resentments. Alberoni continued to disturb France, by preparing to invade England, and forming connections with some Lords in Brittany, who engaged to deliver several places into his hands, by means of which, and of the strong garrisons which he intended to put into them, he expected to keep the whole coast in submission, and to hinder the Regent from lending assistance to his allies. The Regent sent an army into Roussillon, with orders to enter Spain, and at the same time declared, in a manifesto, 'That the Spanish minister alone, as inimical to the peace of Europe, was the object of his hostilities.'

The

The command was offered to Marshal Villars, PART IV.
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 but refused by him, and accepted by Marshal Berwick. In his memoirs, written by himself, Berwick has thought proper to explain the reasons of his conduct on this occasion. ‘ He was
 ‘ among those to whom this war, although just
 ‘ and unavoidable on the part of France, gave
 ‘ the greatest concern. Besides the reasons common to him with every other Frenchman, he
 ‘ had also considerations particular to himself,
 ‘ which concurred to render him averse to this
 ‘ war. He had twice saved Spain, and had received favours from Philip V. which had attached him, in a particular manner, to that
 ‘ prince. On the other hand, his gratitude was
 ‘ due to the Regent, who was personally attacked in this war. But all these considerations
 ‘ yielded, with Marshal Berwick, to the obligation of duty. He was at that time commander of the army in Guienne, and on the frontiers of Spain, which rendered it indispensably
 ‘ necessary for him to execute the orders which
 ‘ he received to attack that kingdom, as he had
 ‘ it not in his power to prevent the issuing of
 ‘ those orders. A refusal to serve, would have
 ‘ implied a disregard to duty, at a time when it
 ‘ was too late to retire, would have been of dangerous example, and had it been imitated,
 ‘ might even have been considered as criminal.
 ‘ He obeyed, therefore, because it was his duty
 ‘ to obey.

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Death of
the Dut-
chess of
Berry.

The French arms were crowned with the most flattering success. But while every thing prospered abroad, the Duke of Orleans experienced a very severe domestic misfortune. It is well known with what extravagance of affection he regarded his daughter the Dutchess of Berry. The shameful irregularities of that Princess's conduct were not sufficient to deprive her of the kindness of a parent, who, by his own example, unhappily gave a sanction to her imprudence. It is even probable, that the similarity of their manners contributed to increase the mutual attachment of the father and the daughter. After several slight indispositions, which produced no great alarm, she was, on the 15th of July, struck with an apoplexy, which from the very first appeared so very dangerous, as to leave but little hope of her recovery. ‘ On the day on which she received the sacraments, she asked for her father, and made him approach so close to her bed, that the lady who attended could hear nothing of what passed. She only heard the Regent exclaim, ‘ What say you, daughter?’ He seemed to be much moved, and walked through the room with a quickness and silence, which marked his astonishment and distress.’

The Princess died at the age of twenty-four. Death surely did not surprise her. For when told, that good cheer, late watchings, and excess in her pleasures, would abridge the term of life ;

‘ Well,’

‘ Well,’ replied she, ‘ *short and good!*’ La Beaumelle gives us to understand, that the secret which she intrusted to her father in her last moments, respected her having privately born a child, of which she could not tell him what was become. That child was a daughter, who, having been at first placed among the foundlings, was lost, but afterwards found again, and brought up in a convent in Flanders, where she became a nun.

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It is certain, that the secret communicated to the Duke of Orleans gave him great displeasure. This he expressed by banishing the Lady of Honour, with several other persons, of whom the public knew no other crimes, but that they had plainly countenanced the irregularities of his daughter. Count Riom, now no longer master at Meudon, was divested of those offices which had given him access to the Princess, and ordered to set out for Spain to join the army.

To the Dutchess of Berry’s maxim, respecting a ‘ life short and good,’ may be opposed the following aphorism of Madame de Maintenon, ‘ Begin early as I have done, to live like an old woman, and you may live as long as I.’ A steady adherence to this principle of conduct, prolonged the age of this lady to eighty-three years, not indeed without some infirmities, but without her having any very severe disease to complain of. Her last days were rendered uneasy by the misfortunes of

Death of
Madame de
Maintenon.

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the Duke of Maine. 'In all my life,' said she, 'I never felt any pleasure so lively, as the pain which I now suffer from the misfortunes of others. I have done well, indeed, in not seeking to elevate myself to a condition of enviable splendour!' The tender cares of her dear pupil were wanting to her in her last moments. She needed some object of affection, on whom to fix her dying eyes. She awaited the approach of death with intrepidity. Eight days before, she wrote from her bed: 'The sacrament of Extreme Unction is administered to the sub-priests in my name, and I see my Confessor taking his post.'

Madame de Maintenon died on the 15th of April, without fear or pain. La Beaumelle describes, in a style of energy, the distress of the family of St Cyr. 'Her death, though slow, and at the natural term of life, alarmed all her daughters, as if it had been sudden and premature. The Duke of Noailles, who directed her funeral, would permit no funeral oration; not that an orator might not have found materials, but because he thought it better to have nothing said, than only the half told.' The Duke de Noailles did very properly. Madame de Maintenon is one of those few characters, who may be safely given up to the severity of history.

There was at the same time a ceremony celebrated, which the public regarded as a sort of death,

death. Mademoiselle Louisa-Benedicta of Orleans professed herself a nun in the convent of Chelles, of which she was afterwards abbess. The conduct of this Princess in thus devoting herself to a life of exemplary piety, formed a contrast with that of her sister, which might have given pleasure to her father, if he had been susceptible of such sort of consolation,—and if the pious resolution of his daughter had not been rather a source of new vexation to him.

Cardinal Alberoni gave him enough of vexation. He was every day discovering some new train laid by that prelate against him, which, if it had escaped observation, must have produced the most awful explosion. The Regent instituted at Nantz a Chamber of Justice, for the purpose of prosecuting certain Lords who had been prompted by Alberoni to raise an insurrection in Brittany. Four of them were beheaded, the rest escaped; and the disturbances in Brittany were thus settled.

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Peace with
Spain.

The French minister, by his negotiations in the north, had succeeded in detaching from Spain, the Kings of Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, who had been gained by Alberoni. He had even sought the aid of the Turk, who was to send a fleet into the Mediterranean. The Regent could find no better expedient to counteract these artifices, than by prosecuting the war vigorously against Spain, that, by penetrating to the
centre

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centre of that kingdom, he might, at length, force the Queen to give up her Minister.

He succeeded in his purpose. Their Catholic Majesties no sooner saw the war carried on in earnest, Fontarabia and St Sebastian taken, and Catalonia in danger, than they became disposed to listen to terms of peace. The terms were those of the quadruple alliance, by the principle of which it was provided, ‘ That the
 ‘ Emperor should renounce his pretensions on
 ‘ the Crown of Spain, and acknowledge Philip
 ‘ lawful Sovereign of Spain and the Indies;
 ‘ that the Catholic Monarch should, on his part,
 ‘ renounce, in favour of the Emperor, his right
 ‘ to the States, which had been dismembered
 ‘ from the Spanish Monarchy in Italy, and in
 ‘ the Low Countries; that Sicily and Sardinia
 ‘ should be ceded to the Emperor, who was to
 ‘ gratify the Duke of Savoy with the latter;
 ‘ that if the Dukes of Tuscany and Parma died
 ‘ without male issue, the eldest son of the King
 ‘ of Spain by his present Queen, and after him
 ‘ the other male children of that Princess, and
 ‘ their male descendents, should inherit those
 ‘ Dutchies;—and that, at present, the King of
 ‘ Spain might maintain in his pay, within those
 ‘ Dutchies, six thousand men, not Spaniards, to
 ‘ secure to him his right of inheritance. Lastly,
 ‘ there was a secret article, by which Philip confirmed his former renunciation of all right to
 ‘ the succession to the Crown of France;—and

‘ as

‘ as may be fairly presumed, another article
 ‘ still more secret, by which the King of Eng-
 ‘ land promised to restore Gibraltar to Spain*.’

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On reading these conditions, a person is surprised to find, that Spain, under the administration of Alberoni, chose rather to contend in war for nearly the same advantages which it was in her power to obtain by treaty. But besides, that Philip V. could not easily bear to see Sicily, Sardinia, and the Low Countries, torn from his own dominions, and added to those of the Emperor, in consequence merely of Charles’s renouncing Spain, when no part of it remained in his possession : Alberoni would, no doubt, convince him, that the promises respecting Tuscany and Parma, and the engagement for the restitution of Gibraltar, were never meant to be fulfilled. For, if they really meant to guarantee those

*There are two facts which render this conjecture probable. 1. On the 10th of March 1727, the Pope’s Nuncio at Madrid wrote to the Nuncio in France, ‘ That the King of Spain would agree to a suspension of the trade from Ostend for two years, as proposed by the Emperor ; but at the same time, demanded Gibraltar, insisting, that the restitution of it had been promised by the King of England.’ *Villars*, t. 3. p. 281.

2. On the 2d of November 1727, Count Rotembourg, the French Ambassador at Madrid, relates, that the Queen of Spain complained much of the English, ‘ and, speaking of Gibraltar, she asked from the King the key of a cabinet, from which she took an original letter, in which the King of England promised the restitution of Gibraltar.’ *Villars*, t. 3. p. 351.

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those States to the children of the Queen, why require, that the garrisons should not consist of *Spanish troops*? And if really disposed to give up Gibraltar, why not do it immediately? Or, at least, why not join with the King of England's letter an engagement by the nation?

Besides, the renunciation of the French Crown, which Philip was required to renew, could not be agreeable to him, if we may believe St Simon, who, having been Ambassador in Spain, was well acquainted with that Monarch's intentions. 'That Prince,' says he, 'could never get out of his head the validity of the renunciations of his grandmother, wife to Lewis XIV. As to the testament of Charles II. he could not conceive how that Prince could have a right to dispose of what he held only for his own life. He looked on himself, therefore, as an usurper; and, to quiet his scruples, always retained the hope of returning to France, and would never exclude himself entirely from the chance of ascending the throne of his ancestors if any fatal accident should befall his nephew. All these things must be confessed to have been not ill arranged in his head; but they were only there.'

Upon all these considerations, Alberoni would not find it hard to persuade the King and Queen, that, in their situation, with such numerous armies, and such powerful alliances, open war was better than an insidious captious treaty. The
treaty

treaty brought, in fact, no advantages to Spain ; the English would be the only gainers by it*.

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Disgrace of Alberoni.

One of the principal conditions of the peace was the disgrace of Alberoni. That Prince, who possessed the genuine talents of a minister, although these were not to be naturally expected in a person of his birth and education, shewed to the world, in the short period of his administration, what Spain was capable of, when her powers were under the direction of a man of abilities. Powerful as he was, he suffered some affronts from the Spanish nobility, whose pride does not easily submit to control ; and he might, perhaps, draw those affronts upon himself by failing in respect to them †. The Queen appears

* By interpreting the conditions of the quadruple alliance in a certain sense, the English gained great advantages to their trade with Spain, without giving up Gibraltar. France, again, being less dexterous, saw her trade with Spain dwindle to nothing.

† St Simon relates, t. 7. p. 103. That Alberoni having refused the Duke d'Escalonne admission into the King's chamber, when his Majesty was indisposed, that nobleman opened the door in disregard of his orders ; and, when the Cardinal took him in his arms to thrust him out, struck him several times with his cane, in the presence of the King and Queen, and all his punishment was a few months banishment from Court.

We may, therefore, regard as a piece of pleasantry in his Holiness, the reply which the Pope made to Alberoni, when, upon procuring for himself the Bishoprick of Malaga, one of the best in Spain, the Cardinal asked of the Sovereign Pontiff a dispensation from residence : ' All that I can do, said
' the

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appears not to have shewn him that kindness in his disgrace, which she justly owed to a faithful servant, who was rather sacrificed than punished. He was banished from Spain : ‘ But he bore his disgrace, and the subsequent persecutions to which he was exposed, as became a great man, and was truly such. He proved his fall to have been owing to the circumstances of the time, and not to his own misconduct. Alberoni sought to serve his master as Richelieu had served his : But the time, the place, and his master, were very different.’

Leaving Spain, he passed the frontiers of France with an officer accompanying him, by order of the Regent, not to do him honour, but to guard him as a prisoner. Genoa refused him an asylum, and he was not better received at Rome. He was obliged to conceal himself some years within the Emperor’s dominions. The Pope, at last, drew him from his obscurity, and gave him the legation of Romagna. ‘ This Cardinal found means to make his name once more spoken of in the world, by undertaking for the Holy See, the conquest of the Republic of San Marino, a village situated within sight of Rimini, upon an eminence. This enterprize of Alberoni’s, remarks d’Argenson, ‘ had

the Pope to the person who made the request in the Cardinal’s name, ‘ is to grant him leave of absence for six months. ‘ The Councils grant other six months ; and if he chuse to avail himself of this expedient, he needs not go there at all.’

‘ had all the air of a parody of the heroic comedies which he had played in Spain twenty years before. So true is it, that the desire of power, though laid asleep by a forced retreat from business, is ever ready to awake on the slightest occasion that may arise.’

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Another Spanish Cardinal may be regarded also as an instance of what enthusiasm in a vigorous mind, is capable of. ‘ His name was Sala*. He was born in Catalonia, of low parentage, and entered among the Benedictines. When the Archduke Charles went to Barcelona, to maintain, in person, his right to the Spanish monarchy, chance so ordered it, that Sala’s father was hired for coachman to the Prince. The son sought to avail himself of this lucky accident. He caused himself to be taken notice of by the Archduke and his ministers, as a genius formed for intrigue. He excited a spirit of revolt in all the monasteries of the city and the Provinces, and appeared every where at the head of those who were most violent against Philip V. Sala, by his audacity and address, performed various important services to the Archduke; so that to put him in a situation for being still more useful, that Prince was induced to raise him in the Church. He was first nominated to the Bishoprick of Girone. After his elevation to this dignity, he continued to prosecute his seditious enterprises, so much

Cardinal
Sala.

‘ to

* St Simon, t. 2, p. 127.

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‘ to the satisfaction of the Archduke, that he was
 ‘ next advanced to the See of Barcelona. Here
 ‘ he became a person of so much consequence
 ‘ with the Archduke himself, that he obtained
 ‘ for him a Cardinal’s hat, even against the
 ‘ Pope’s will, who was averse to introduce so un-
 ‘ suitable a character into the sacred college, but
 ‘ durst not refuse the Emperor, as his arms then
 ‘ prospered in Spain.

‘ Philip V. was much disobliged at the pro-
 ‘ motion, and proscribed Sala, as equally un-
 ‘ worthy of the mitre and the Cardinal’s hat.
 ‘ When after the peace, Catalonia could no
 ‘ longer hold out, and Barcelona was threaten-
 ‘ ed with a siege, Sala, and the other leaders of
 ‘ the rebellion in that province, made their
 ‘ escape. The Bishop retired to Avignon:
 ‘ While there, he was attacked by some diseases,
 ‘ which greatly reduced his bodily strength, but
 ‘ his spirit for intrigue remained unsubdued.
 ‘ He neglected nothing that could contribute to
 ‘ his return to Barcelona, although sure of the
 ‘ opposition of the Spanish Monarch. The Em-
 ‘ peror used all his influence to prevail with the
 ‘ Pope to insist, that the Court of Madrid should
 ‘ restore the Prelate to his diocese: And the so-
 ‘ vereign Pontiff, knowing what affection the
 ‘ Emperor still retained for Sala, endeavoured
 ‘ to move the King of Spain, by representing
 ‘ to him the criminality of keeping a bishop ba-
 ‘ nished from his diocese, and at a distance from
 ‘ his

‘ his flock. The King of Spain continued firm
 ‘ to his refusal, and the Pope found out an ex-
 ‘ pedient, by which he avoided offending ei-
 ‘ ther of the two monarchs. To gain time, he
 ‘ ordered Sala to come first to Rome, and
 ‘ receive his hat from his Holiness’s own hands.
 The Cardinal set out, but died before he could
 ‘ reach Rome, and thus relieved the Pope from
 ‘ his perplexity.’

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This seems to have been the æra, or rather the reign of adventurers. In Spain, the son of a coachman and a gardener were Cardinals. In France the descendents of an apothecary and a goldsmith were, one a Cardinal, another Comptroller-general of the Finances. Besides the resemblance of the birth and the fortune of these two men, there was a similitude not less striking between two acts of religion which they performed;—Dubois taking his engagements when consecrated, upon his nomination to the Archbishopric of Cambray,—and Law’s abjuration of his religion. The one was not thought a worthier bishop, nor the other a better Catholic for those acts. It was well known that Law conformed only externally to the Church; and that, in order to receive from the Regent the first place in the revenue department, without giving too great offence to the nation.

Law and
 Dubois.

This part of the administration was near a crisis; but it first produced some violent convulsions. We left the Bank peaceably, swallow-

The Bank

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ing up the money of the nation, and giving out in return State-bills, and other engagements in the name of the Sovereign. When the Bank-bills began to be less eagerly sought after, Law contrived a new expedient, not less ingenious than the first. He contrived to make the value of money fall, by maintaining the Bank crown at its original value, so that people were eager to carry to the Bank their money, the value of which was falling, and to receive in exchange Bank-bills, which were subject to no fluctuation of value. When the minister, either ashamed of his success, or needing a new artifice, wished to render the fall of money less rapid, he heightened its value. People then closed their purses, considering their money as a commodity which was becoming valuable. But another decree soon attracted it to the Bank.

The brilliant period
 of the Bank.

It is impossible to describe the frenzy which seized all ranks at sight of the enormous fortunes which were now almost instantaneously created. A person beginning with a State-bill, would often, by exchanging it for silver, and that for other bills, acquire millions in the course of a few weeks. Quinquempoix, a long narrow street, became, by what accident I know not, the great resort of the brokers, and the theatre of their business. Domestic servants, who came there on Monday, behind their master's carriage, were sometimes seen returning within it,
 by

by Saturday*. It was constantly thronged with such a crowd that several persons were pressed to death in it. PART IV.
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Trade and social intercourse were at a stand in Paris. The mechanic in his work-shop, and the merchant in his counting-house, the magistrate and the man of letters in their closets, had all their attention entirely engrossed by the prices of stock. Their gain or loss depended on the news of the day. Persons meeting asked the news, before asking each other how they did. This was the sole conversation in every circle; the fluctuation of the stocks excluded every other topic †.

The stock-jobbers were cruel and hard-hearted as gamesters. He that was ruined by the sudden fall of the value of papers in his hands, scrupled not to ruin his friend by selling them to him, before he knew that their value was fallen. Suicide, assassination, and all the most horrid crimes that avarice and despair can perpetrate, followed.

While every thing went well with the stock-jobbers, while they were pleasing themselves with contemplating the immensity of their wealth in their portfolios beside empty coffers,

1720.
Fall of the
Bank.

D d 2

and

* 'One who could but get near that street, was sure of making his fortune. A hump-backed man, whose hump was gently inclined like a writing-desk, gained in a short time more than fifty thousand livres, by suffering those who had writings to sign, to use his back as a desk.'

† *Fragmens*, t. 2. p. 272.

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and flattering their imaginations with the hopes of still more enormous fortunes,—there appeared, at a time when it was least expected, on the 21st of May 1720, an edict, reducing the stock to one-half. This stroke was become necessary; for Law, availing himself of the enthusiasm and credulity of the public, had issued much more paper than all the money in the Bank could pay*. This unexpected change roused the nation from their dream of opulence. To confidence and hopes, succeeded fears and painful reflections. The Parliament remonstrated. The Regent heard them with a favourable attention; and Law, now become in a moment the object of public execration, resigned all his employments. Next day, however, he was re-established at the head of the finances and the bank.

This step of the Parliament, and the reasons upon which they founded their remonstrances, opened mens eyes, and gave a mortal blow to the system. To support it, Law in vain employed such resources as his genius could suggest, and the Regent all his authority; their efforts were ineffectual. A new coinage, much lighter than the old was struck and issued. All money of the old coinage was ordered to be carried to the mint; but this order was slighted by the public. Every individual was forbidden to keep by him more ready money than five hundred

* Villars says, t. 2. p. 523. That wretch Law had issued more than eight thousand millions of paper.

hundred livres ; but this prohibition only induced every person to hoard up his money with the greater care. As a large sum might be detected by its bulk, some converted their money into pearls and diamonds ; and even this shift was forbidden but ineffectually. It was in vain that Government offered a new bait by restoring to the bills their former value ; nobody was caught.

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Private persons found sufficient reasons, in the ruin of their fortunes, for suffering themselves to be no longer deluded by chimeras ; and they were farther warned to be on their guard by the resistance of the Parliament, who refused to register the edicts by which the minister laboured to support the system. Law, impatient of such opposition, procured the banishment of the Parliament, which was sent to Pontoise on the 2d of July. Then appeared a multitude of edicts, declarations, and arrets of the Council of Finance, fixing the rate of gold and silver, laying restrictions on plate and jewellery, pointing out modes of sharing stock, prescribing how to divide bank-bills, to transmit and to register them, and how to open and close accounts in the Bank. In the space of eight months, there appeared no fewer than three and thirty edicts of this sort, and one of them often annulling another. These were rather acts of violence than of artifice, and shewed those who

The Parliament
banished.

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D'Argenson
retires.

issued them to be in great perplexity, and to have few resources.

As birds, at the approach of a storm, are seen flying about and seeking some place of shelter; so the stock-holders, or Mississippians as they were called, from the conjunction of the Mississippi Company with the Bank, retired to Holland and England, some to secure the fortunes which they had so rapidly accumulated, others for fear of being called to account. M. d'Argenson, Keeper of the Seals, had hitherto been of great use to the Regent. 'As long as he thought Law's system beneficial to the State, he exerted himself to maintain the credit of the Bank. Thus he cleared off the immense debts of the State, and enriched it partly with real, partly with ideal wealth. And the latter,' says his son, 'is equivalent to the former, if it be generally current.' He adds, 'my father, like a good citizen, employed all the resources which his enlightened mind and his character supplied him with, for the glory of the Regent, and the benefit of the State. But when he saw plainly that Law's abuse of the Bank-bills was carried to its utmost pitch, and that it was betraying the nation, to seek to give them a credit which they did not deserve, he resigned his places, and would take no farther concern in the business.' In the beginning of June he delivered up the Seals to the Duke of Orleans,

Orleans, who put them into the hands of M. d'Agueffeau. PART IV.
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M. d'Argenson's retreat from business would have been such as became a wise man, and would have met with general applause, if he had been more prudent, and had paid greater respect to public opinion, in chusing the place of his retirement. ' He shut himself in a house adjoining to ' the Convent de la Magdelane de Traisnel. ' The Prioress was a Madame de Veyni, for whom ' he had a very warm friendship. Although it ' was scarce consistent with propriety for a Lord ' Keeper of the Seals to go twice a-week into a ' convent of young ladies, his passion made him ' overlook every consideration of this nature. ' Perhaps,' continues Villars, ' there was no ' commerce of gallantry between them. But ' the Prioress had been and still was very handsome, and possessed a great deal of wit. However the affair be, they both despised the censures of the public, knowing that whatever the world might think, neither of them would suffer in the esteem of the Regent, on account of their intimacy. That Prince, indeed, did not withdraw either his confidence or his kindness from them. D'Argenson lived a year after his resignation, and did not die of chagrin, as was pretended,—his soul was too great for that *.

D d 4

What

* St Simon,—Villars,—Essais de d'Argenson.

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Opinion of
the system.

What is said by Chancellor d'Argenson's son, —that the Duke of Orleans paid off the debts of the State, and enriched it, seems to have been believed by the Regent himself, who boasted of it. In the month of October, he published a statement, in which he informed the public, that since the death of Lewis XIV. he had paid 1,722,249,229 livres of the national debt*. Yet in those five years, the earth had not poured from her bosom any sudden abundance of the precious metals, nor had she yielded double or threefold vintages; no showers of pearls or diamonds had fallen, as under the reign of the Fairies; no remarkable efforts of œconomy had been made; no new inventions in the arts of industry or in commerce had attracted a tide of wealth into France from other nations. It was only from herself, therefore,—from her own vitals, that the nation could draw so prodigious a sum. Every private citizen had been abused by fraud, artifice, or seduction, to give up the obligations which he held for the advances made to Government in a time of public distress. And to impoverish and ruin private persons, must surely be a bad way of enriching the State, or paying the public debts.

Effects of
the system.

The truth of this observation appears but too plainly upon a review of the condition to which
France

* At the death of Lewis XIV. in September 1715, the debt amounted to 2,006,138,001 livres, in the month of October 1720, it was only 339,888,772 of livres.

France was reduced, when the fall of the Bank put an end to that illusion which had not been confined to Paris, but had spread through all the provinces. The plague raged at Marseilles, and through a part of Provence. A dreadful fire had burnt to the ground one half of the city of Rennes. The Regent, who had been unjustly accused of bringing these disasters upon the land, in order to draw the attention of the public from his own conduct,—a crime of which he was incapable,—exhorted the Bishops in a circular letter, to contribute to the relief of the unfortunate sufferers, by collections through their dioceses. The Bishop of Castres returned the following answer: ‘ All our exertions in behalf
 ‘ of the dioceses afflicted with the plague, have
 ‘ raised in my district no greater a sum than an
 ‘ hundred pistoles in money, and five thousand
 ‘ livres in bills. These papers have done nearly
 ‘ as much mischief among us, as the flames have
 ‘ occasioned in Brittany. Although the sight
 ‘ be not so awfully alarming, the effects produced are not less fatal. Our evils are less public, but not less real, and even more incurable.
 ‘ What though our houses have not been reduced to ashes? Of all that was valuable in our
 ‘ possession, nothing now remains but an imaginary representative, good for nothing but to
 ‘ be committed to the flames.

‘ What a change have those bills produced in
 ‘ the space of six months, even on those fortunes
 ‘ which

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‘ which appeared the least liable to fluctuation !
 ‘ It is impossible to conceive without seeing it,
 ‘ or to see it, without being struck with deep
 ‘ concern. Trade, credit, industry, prudence,
 ‘ friendship, even charity, are no more. While
 ‘ trade is stopped, industry languishes. The
 ‘ ruin of credit puts an end to friendship, as
 ‘ individuals begin to imagine, that none is to
 ‘ be trusted, and that prudence requires them to
 ‘ be on their guard against even their friends and
 ‘ relations. Charity needs not the aid of much
 ‘ penetration at present to discover extreme
 ‘ necessity, wherever she used formerly to find
 ‘ her surest resources ; she has only to weep
 ‘ with those who weep, but finds no occasion
 ‘ for rejoicing, no means by which she may
 ‘ wipe away the tears of the poor and the afflic-
 ‘ ted.’ He adds, ‘ What I have here said is no
 ‘ exaggerated representation, but simply the ex-
 ‘ pression of a truth known to all.’ This de-
 ‘ scription of real misery, which extended over
 all France, is a proof that the extinction of so
 much public credit, if it was really accomplish-
 ed, did by no means enrich the State ; at least,
 if we distinguish not the State from those of
 whom it is composed ; and unless by an error
 common to ministers and courtiers, we think the
 happiness or misery of the people of small conse-
 quence, while the treasury of the Prince is full.

But evils were produced by the system, of still
 greater magnitude than transient misery,—an
 excessive

cessive luxury, which infected all ranks, the desertion of the country, an exorbitant rise in the price of labour and provisions, and, what is worst of all, the substitution of the love of wealth, in the room of the love of virtue and honour.

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The splendid and sumptuous entertainments of Lewis XIV. had indeed inspired a taste for magnificence; but that taste had been confined within the Court; whereas, the example of those who now made a figure with their newly acquired fortunes,—their profusion, the sumptuousness of their tables, their equipages, their furniture, the prodigality with which they paid for their necessities and pleasures,—spread through society a sort of frenzy for dress, good cheer, gaming, and building. ‘While they saw around them the extremity of misery, and France absolutely ruined, there were persons who caused those palaces, in which the most magnificent of kings had been commodiously lodged with his whole court, to be pulled down, in order that they might raise others more splendid.’ The price of commodities rose and fell, with the fluctuations in the value of money and bills, and at last settled at a rate at which labour was too dear, and by which our manufacturers were rendered unable to sell so low as their rivals in trade. The cities swallowed up the population of the country. The romantic hopes of raising a fortune attracted from their fields all those people in easy circumstances,

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stances, whom hereditary moderation and frugality had rendered the great resource of the labouring poor. In matrimonial alliances, regard to rank or family was no longer observed, wealth levelled all ranks. The man of the law, the gentleman, even the great lord, blushed not to hear that he or she whom they were about to receive into their families, would connect them with low relations, and introduce into them mean and vicious manners.

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Stockjob-
bing in o-
ther coun-
tries.

It is of consequence to observe, in what manner other countries were at the same time infected with the same epidemical frenzy for stock-jobbing. ' The South Sea Company, and
' Change Alley in London, were sufficient counterparts to the Mississippi Company, and the
' street of Quinquempoix in Paris. A like game
' was played in Holland. Fanciful projects arose in numbers every where. If a man happened to propose one accidentally, or only in
' jest, the richest purses were immediately opened to support it. Upon a simple proposal of
' this nature, subscriptions to the amount of
' more than twelve millions have been raised
' within two hours; and people hastened thither
' in such crowds, and with as much ardour, as
' if they had been going to share a treasure,
' so that an hundred millions might, with great
' ease, have been obtained in the course of the
' day. A project has been known to produce
' *cent. per cent.* in two days, even before it was
' known

‘ known whether it would take place. And in PART IV.
 ‘ that short time, those who had only signed 1720-21.
 ‘ their names, have gained real profits from what
 ‘ was merely imaginary.’ Hence it may be concluded, that Law was not the inventor of the system, but only the person who carried it into execution.

It remains to be observed, that although Law had, by a sort of magic power, conveyed all the money in France into the coffers of the Bank, he did not himself profit by the riches which he had at first accumulated. The Regent, after saving him several times with difficulty from the fury of the populace, at last caused him to retire to Flanders, whence he went with his family to Venice, where only a very slender plank was provided to save him from the shipwreck to which he had exposed himself. He is said to have spent the remainder of his life about the public Banks, ever thinking of Paris, and occupied in nothing but lotteries and speculations depending upon chance.

End of
Law.

After this storm, it might have been expected that tranquillity would be immediately re-established by the recal of the Parliament. But the cloud removed slowly, and that body were still threatened with the bursting of the thunder.

Restoration
of the Par-
liament and
the Consti-
tution.

Lewis XIV. had intended to have the Bull Unigenitus registered by the Parliament, as a law of the State. He died at the very instant in which his design was to have been executed;
 and

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and under the Regency it was sometimes keenly prosecuted, sometimes neglected. The Duke of Orleans at length determined to bring the business to a termination. He for some time pressed Cardinal Noailles to give a mandate, accepting the bull. The Prelate promised his mandate, as soon as the Parliament should have registered it ; and the Parliament would not register it, till the Archbishop of Paris should have given his mandate. The Regent was displeased at an appearance of collusion, which, he thought, he perceived in these reciprocal conditions. He resolved to remove the Parliament farther from the capital, from Pontoise to Blois. This would have taken place, had not Marshal Villars interfered, and prevailed with the Archbishop to issue his mandate, after which the Parliament made no more difficulty, and was recalled to Paris, whither it returned on the 20th of December 1721.

Dubois aspires to a Cardinal's hat.

Any person who considers the general indifference of the Regent in respect to matters of religion, will readily conceive that he must have had other motives than merely his regard for the matter in dispute, to excite him to that eagerness and impatience which he displayed on this occasion. Villars indeed informs us, ‘ that he ‘ yielded to the earnest solicitations of Abbé ‘ Dubois, who being now Archbishop of Cambray, was desirous of obtaining the rank of Cardinal, and neglected no means to gratify the ‘ Pope.

‘Pope.’ And perhaps the Duke of Orleans espoused the interests of his old preceptor with so much zeal, out of a desire to see him vested with a dignity which might authorise *him* to ease himself of the burden of government, of which he seemed very weary, by laying it on his Eminence’s shoulders.

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The Regent committed the charge of reducing the confusion of the Finances to order, to M. Pelletier de la Houssaie, whom he named Comptroller-General. Villars says, that ‘the new Comptroller-General was a man of firmness and honour, qualities highly necessary at a time when the State was almost ruined by the villany of its servants.’ The worthlessness of those who had hitherto been in office under the Regency was so generally known, that, in an assembly, in which the Duke of Orleans presided, and the business was to chuse new Directors of the India Company, some persons called out, ‘Let us only resolve to chuse honest men;’ an expression implying almost a direct censure of the choice which the Regent had generally made of servants to the State, and which he heard without shewing any resentment.

Pelletier de
la Houssaie
Comptrol-
ler-Gener-
al.

The first step taken for the better regulation of the Finances, was the causing all stockholders to compear at certain offices established for the purpose, and to give proof, that they possessed certain lands, rents, houses, or other sources of income, which had enabled them to purchase

1721.
The Visa.

PART IV. purchase their stock or bills. Those papers were
1721. then stamped, and were called *Visas*; and all that could not stand this test, became not payable, or at least fell in their value to a mere trifle; bills of a thousand livres were sold at three or four and sixty.

This expedient was unavoidably attended with many disadvantages. In the first place, it was very disagreeable for a person to declare, that he had sold the inheritance of his fathers. And those who had been obliged to receive bills for articles of merchandise, not being able to prove that they had purchased them with property affording a regular income, entirely lost their value. Even with respect to stock-jobbers by profession, it was an act of injustice to deprive them, by a piece of formality, of the fruit of their industry. The minister even added violence to this injustice; for several who appeared with their bills for examination, were not only refused to have their bills stamped, but had the bills also taken from them, and were sent away empty handed. Others were ordered, under certain penalties, to carry a certain quantity of bills to the Bank to be burnt. Bailiffs were sent to the houses of those who neglected to obey, their money and jewels confiscated, and several of them sent to prison: ‘Although they remonstrated, that it could not surely be a crime to have acquired wealth by means suggested by the Court.’

Hence

Hence it is clear, that the *visa*, from which the public had at first promised themselves great advantages, could be useful only to the Exchequer, which it relieved of a prodigious number of bills, that must otherwise have been paid,—and to a very few of those who had been obliged by circumstances to exchange their property for paper. Malversations were committed, too, in the conducting of the *visa*. The Commissioners betrayed their trust, and took money to stamp bills as purchased with real property, which had been otherwise obtained. The richest stock-holders, without being at the pains to bribe the Commissioners, went directly to the favourites of the Regent, and offered millions to have the rest of their fortune secured ; and their offers were successful ; that is, for a sum which went not into the King's coffers, they were secured in the possession of a fortune suspiciously acquired. Thus, both in its nature, and in the manner in which it was conducted, the *visa* proved an unhappy contrivance.

The Duke, as he held the balance of the system, might, by inclining it slightly towards himself, have gained to his own family immense treasures ; but he acquired nothing by it ; whereas, the rise of the vast opulence of the other princes, is to be dated from that period. But, if he profited nothing by it, all those about him were enriched, either by means of the favours which their importunity obtained for

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those who had money to pay to the State, or by the presents which they greedily grasped for themselves. St Simon relates a fact which shews the easy temper of the Prince, and how much it was abused.

Coetlogon.

‘ Marshal Chateau-Renaud died in the office of Vice-Admiral. The widow of his only son privately obtained a grant of an hundred and twenty thousand livres, upon that office which had never been sold. It was offered to Coetlogon, who, like his predecessor, was one of the best seamen. But when the deed of grant was produced, which he had not expected, he refused to accept it at such a price, and protested, that he would not pay a farthing for it. It was in vain that he was pressed; he remained firm. And as the Vice-Admiralty could not, without injustice, be given to another, the Regent caused the deed to be brought him, threw it into the fire, and paid the widow her hundred and twenty thousand crowns, at the King’s expence.’

• illness of the King.

Lewis XV. fell ill in the end of July *. His complaints appeared at first dangerous. General alarm and suspicion arose. The Dutches de la Ferté exclaimed at his bed-head, ‘ He is poisoned.’ This was the same Dutches who said so confidently, to Madame de Staal: ‘ Softly, child, I know none but myself that is always

* Mem. Reg. t. 3. p. 119. St Simon, t. 5. p. 119. Staal, t. 1. p. 269.

‘ ways in the right.’ She was in the wrong, however, upon this occasion. The king’s recovery was as rapid as his illness had been sudden. PART IV.
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‘ The Duke of Orleans behaved on this occasion with such propriety and prudence, that he gained great esteem. He paid a decent attention, and shewed a seasonable degree of uneasiness; neither in his words nor in his countenance did he shew himself at all elated with the idea of his being next heir to the sick Monarch. And, indeed, as he never had wished for the Crown, however improbable the assertion may appear, he had no occasion to be particularly on his guard, or to lay himself under any restraint. The Duke of Villeroy, governor to the young Prince, did not keep his fears equally within the bounds of moderation.’ Indeed he expressed them so openly, says St Simon, as to afford reason for thinking, that he not only entertained suspicions himself, but wished also to excite suspicions in the minds of others. This imputation shews, what opinion the Regent’s Court had of the Marquis.

Lewis XV. soon after his recovery, gave the red hat to the Archbishop of Cambray, whom the Pope had now nominated a Cardinal. In the letter of the Sovereign Pontiff to the King, upon this occasion, he informed his Majesty, that he had honoured this Prelate with the purple in reward for the services which he had rendered the church, and for his having

Dubois
made a
Cardinal.

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‘ contributed so essentially to the re-establish-
 ‘ ment of peace.’ His character was viewed in
 this light at Rome; but in France, where his
 vices and defects were generally known, because
 he had not been even at the pains to conceal
 them, he was considered as a disgrace to the
 sacred College.

This appears from the prints, songs, and lam-
 poons, in which his Eminence was accused of
 all sorts of excess. Dubois gave himself no con-
 cern; so far was he from amending his life,
 that he set himself every day the freer from all
 restraint. Although now a Cardinal, he still
 continued to swear and blaspheme, even when
 giving public audience, and to break out into
 the most frantic sallies of passion; ‘ I have seen
 him,’ said the Duke of Orleans to St Simon, ‘ I
 ‘ have seen him more than once, when things
 ‘ were not succeeding agreeably to his mind,
 ‘ run backwards and forwards through the
 ‘ room, upon the tables and chairs, without
 ‘ touching the ground.’ The Duke of Orleans
 was not the only person who witnessed those
 mad pranks, or heard his frantic language.
 Cardinal Gevres one day complained to him,
 that Dubois had ordered him to go about his
 business in the coarsest and most insulting terms.

Madame de
 Conflans
 and Cardi-
 nal Dubois.

But, what is said to have happened to a wo-
 man of quality whom he might have treated bet-
 ter, as she was a partisan of the House of Orle-
 ans, exceeds every thing else that is told of him.

The

The gravity of history could not condescend to relate this anecdote, were it not necessary to shew, how Princes are sometimes dishonoured by the vices of those whom they raise to consideration. I shall give it in the very words of St Simon, suppressing only one or two, which are too strong.

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‘ The Dutchess of Orleans having chosen Madame de Conflans, governess to the Princesses her daughters, told her, that it would be proper to pay her compliments upon the occasion to the Cardinal, who was then in the height of his credit. She at first refused, saying, that he would insult her openly, and that she did not chuse to be exposed before all the world. But the Dutchess insisting, that, as she had nothing to ask, she had nothing to fear, that it was only a piece of politeness which would be as politely returned; and, in short, that it was her desire, Madame de Conflans at last complied.

‘ She set out on her visit; she was shewn into a great hall, in which were eight or ten persons waiting to speak with the Cardinal, who was standing near the fire with a woman to whom he was giving abusive language. Madame de Conflans began to be afraid. As the woman to whom the Cardinal was speaking, retired, she advanced. The Cardinal seeing her approach, called out, What do you want? “ My Lord,” said she, “ Oh, my Lord! my

PART IV. “ Lord !”—interrupted he, ‘ that cannot be.’
 1721. “ But, my Lord,’ replied she ;—‘ When I tell
 ‘ you again,’ returned the Cardinal with an
 ‘ oath, ‘ that cannot be.—‘ My Lord,’ attempt-
 ‘ ed the lady again to say, in order to explain
 ‘ to him that she did not want any thing. But,
 ‘ without suffering her to proceed, he seized her
 ‘ by the shoulders, and pushing her from him
 ‘ with violence, bade her begone, and leave him
 ‘ at peace. She went out in a rage, and all in
 ‘ tears, and made the best of her way to the
 ‘ Princess, to whom she related her adventure.
 ‘ The Cardinal’s strange fallies were not un-
 ‘ known to her. But this was so ludicrous, that
 ‘ instead of sympathising with poor Madame de
 ‘ Conflans, she burst into a loud fit of laugh-
 ‘ ter, which irritated that lady still more. Such
 ‘ was the man whom the Regent intended for
 ‘ prime Minister of France *.’

Marriage
 contracted
 between
 the Royal
 families of
 France and
 Spain.

But before giving entirely up the charge of government, he concluded two marriages, one between

* Dubois had a Benedictine in his family, of the name of Venier, who was in the use of saying to him what he pleased. The Cardinal happened one day to ask, in his hearing, for something which could not immediately be found, upon which he expressed himself in the most furious manner against his clerks, ‘ They have no care, no attention ; if they have ‘ too much to do, let them tell me, I shall employ thirty,— ‘ forty.’—‘ My Lord,’ returned Venier coolly, ‘ employ on- ‘ ly one more, and set him up to bluster and swear in your ‘ room ; you will be set at ease, and at the same time well ‘ served.’

between the King and the Infanta of Spain ; PART IV.
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 the other between the Prince of the Asturias, heir apparent of the Spanish Crown, and his own daughter Mademoiselle de Montpensier. Between the latter contracting parties there was a due proportion of age, the Prince being fourteen, and the Princess twelve ; but the Infanta was only four, and Lewis XV. was thirteen years old : This marriage, therefore, promised no immediate fruits. And the Regent shewed no small address in thus securing the Spanish Crown to his daughter, while he, at the same time preserved his own hopes of that of France, unimpaired. It would, perhaps, have been as politic, and not less suitable in every respect to have married Mademoiselle de Montpensier to the King. The inconveniencies would thus have been avoided that afterwards attended both these marriages, of which one was never accomplished, and the other did not prove happy. It was agreed, that the Princess of Spain should be brought to France, to receive her education ; the Duke de St Simon was appointed to witness the exchange of the two Princesses on the frontiers, and to proceed thence to the Spanish court, to represent the Regent at the marriage-ceremony between his daughter and the Prince of the Asturias*.

I have already remarked it as surprising, that, with his purity of manners, and regard for reli-

E e 4

gion,

* The Infanta was sent back to Spain, after the Regent's death, because she was too young.

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gion, the Duke de St Simon, could preserve, as he did, the affection and confidence of the Duke of Orleans. Having been educated under the eye of a virtuous father, he came to court with a piety of disposition which was very rare there, in the splendid days of Lewis XIV. And to confirm himself in his religious principles, he used to retire every year, for some time, to the Convent of la Trappe. But his piety was not of a sour, disgusting character; even the Regent allowed, that he rendered virtue amiable. To his moral excellencies he joined brightness of genius, a cultivated understanding and extensive knowledge, which made ‘his conversation equally entertaining and instructive. Lewis XIV. esteemed him as one of the honestest men in his kingdom: And when, upon asking, some days before his death, how his nephew was employed, he was told, that he was closeted with the Duke de St Simon. ‘It were “happy for him,” replied the Monarch, “that all his friends were such as St Simon.” I have ‘often heard him say,’ observes the person by whom these particulars are related *, ‘that he had ‘missed no opportunity of remonstrating with ‘the Prince in the strongest manner against his ‘excess and debauchery; the Prince was never ‘angry, but loved him so much the more; nay, ‘would even reproach him when he heard from ‘others any thing unfavourable that had been ‘said of him.’ And St Simon himself often values

* The Bishop of Agde his relation.

lues himself on his frankness, in the course of his memoirs *.

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Dubois minister.

It was much to be wished, that the Duke of Orleans had followed the advice of so respectable a confidant, when he thought of appointing Dubois prime Minister. Abbé de St Pierre, who had narrowly observed the politic conduct of the Cardinal, and who marks the steps by which he ascended to the height of his elevation, regards his fortune as nowise surprising †.

‘ Many have been surpris’d at it,’ says he, ‘ when they consider’d his birth, his vices, and his want of integrity. They knew him to be ‘ passionate, backbiting, a slanderer, debauched, ‘ covetous, envious, an egregious cheat even to ‘ his friends. But they have not consider’d, ‘ that he had penetration in discerning the ‘ weaknesses of men, and great skill in availing ‘ himself of them. He knew how to flatter, to ‘ fright, or, in a word, how to interest.

‘ They have not consider’d, that he scarcely ‘ ever slept, that he read none, was not fond of ‘ the enjoyments of the table, or of conversation; and had, consequently, four times as ‘ much time as any other person, to think of the ‘ improvement of his fortune, the obstacles in ‘ his way, and the means by which these might ‘ be overcome.

‘ They have not reflect’d, that a person of a ‘ vigorous mind, with more leisure than others have,

* St Simon was born in 1675, and died in 1756.

† St Pierre, p. 673.

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‘ have, and with only one object in view, will
 ‘ find out twenty times as many expedients as
 ‘ another, for the attainment of his end ; nor
 ‘ considered, that he who is a stranger to friend-
 ‘ ship, gratitude, or honesty, proceeds in his ca-
 ‘ reer, where an honest man will stop short.

‘ They did not reflect, that a man who, in
 ‘ order to make his fortune, has only a single
 ‘ person to manage, whom he can beset with
 ‘ spies,—who scruples at nothing,—submits with
 ‘ patience to any thing,—looks steadily and con-
 ‘ fidently forward to his end,—and has the art
 ‘ to ruin with his master, either by calumny, or
 ‘ by ridicule, all by whom he can be in danger
 ‘ of being supplanted ;---that such a man is al-
 ‘ most master himself, because he may procure
 ‘ the dismissal of every one else, by threatening
 ‘ to resign, if they are retained.

‘ If those who express so much surprise at his
 ‘ success, had made these reflections, they could
 ‘ not but have perceived that unless the ordinary
 ‘ laws of Providence were violated, it was im-
 ‘ possible for Dubois, with the qualities of
 ‘ which he was possessed, not to acquire the
 ‘ absolute disposal of his old pupil’s autho-
 ‘ rity. Cardinal Alberoni was his rival in for-
 ‘ tune, of the same low birth, and not inferior
 ‘ in abilities ; but Alberoni was more skilled in
 ‘ business than in mankind ; and Dubois knew
 ‘ mankind better than business. Alberoni was
 ‘ accordingly disgraced ; but Dubois, by ren-
 ‘ dering

‘ dering himself necessary, secured his credit a-
 ‘ gainst all possibility of disgrace.’

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It was, in fact, chiefly by this means, than which none could have been more effectual with a prince so averse to the application of business, that the Cardinal attained the dignity, the power belonging to which was already in his hands. ‘ All authority is so effectually his,’ said St Simon to the Regent*, that none, whether Frenchman or foreign minister dare address himself directly to your Royal Highness, well knowing, that all matters, whether of justice or mercy, depend so entirely upon him, that when he refuses, the object must be given up; but when he gives a favourable answer, it is generally thought unnecessary to speak to your Royal Highness, unless for form, and that only when the Cardinal directs, which he sometimes does in the case of a denial, to throw the odium upon you. And has your Royal Highness yet to learn, a thing of itself so evident, and so certain, that even I, since my return from Spain, whenever I have had any thing to ask, either for myself or for any of my friends, however trifling it might be, have always taken care never to mention it to you, till I had first secured the Cardinal; and would have been sure of a refusal, if I had addressed myself directly to you, without previously gaining him.

‘ Since

* St Simon, t. 5. p. 230.

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‘ Since it is your pleasure,’ continued St Simon, ‘ to intrust so despotic an authority to the Cardinal, leave him to the sole exercise of it. But let your Royal Highness beware of conferring upon him a title which may render him independent, as he would be in a great measure, if nominated first minister. For, whatever the plenitude of his present power, he totters like a bird upon a branch, and is liable to be dismissed without form or trouble, whenever your Royal Highness shall think proper. You have only to cause it to be notified to foreign ministers to address themselves no longer to him ; to the Secretaries and other Ministers of State, that they are no longer to receive his orders,—or, even without being at so much trouble, you have only to order him to retire to his diocese, to seize or seal up his papers, and to cause him set out instantly. But, although the registration of your patent cannot hinder his fall, it is one thing to have it in your power to dismiss him at once, and another, not to be able to dismiss him, without giving him time to find out resources.’ And it was this very difference which made the Cardinal so desirous of a title which furnished him with arms against surprise or violence.

The Regent felt the force of what was urged by St Simon ; and, in the animated conversation which passed between them on this subject, ‘ he asked me,’ says the Duke, ‘ if I did not
‘ remember

‘ remember to have seen Dubois valet to St PART IV.
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 ‘ Laurent, and proud of the situation. He then
 ‘ enumerated the different steps by which the
 ‘ Cardinal has ascended to his present fortune;
 ‘ and at length broke out, ‘ Yet is he not con-
 “ tent, but teazes me to nominate him prime
 “ Minister, although I know not if he would even
 “ then be content, and what can he be more?’
 ‘ Then answering himself, ‘ God the Father, if
 “ he could.’ ‘ Yes, to be sure,’ answered I, ‘ It is
 “ your business, my Lord, who know him so
 “ well, to consider, if you mean to make your-
 “ self his footstool, and raise him to trample up-
 “ on you.’ ‘ Oh! I shall take care of him there,’
 ‘ replied he.’ And yet, with these resolutions,
 he suffered himself to be prevailed upon, and
 complied with all that the Cardinal desired.

When Dubois obtained a seat in the Council,
 into which Cardinal Rohan had been previously
 introduced, in order to pave the way for him,
 debates arose on the subject of precedence. The
 Marshals of France, with the Dukes and Peers,
 refused to sit under the Cardinals. The Chan-
 cellor joined the former. They all staid from
 the Council; and the Duke of Noailles meeting
 Cardinal Dubois in the evening, said to him,
 ‘ This day, Sir, will be famous in history; it
 ‘ will not be forgotten, that, on your entrance
 ‘ into the Council, the nobles of the realm de-
 ‘ ferted it.’ Marshals d’Huxelles, Tallard, and
 Bezons, retired to their estates, and their pen-
 sions

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sions were withdrawn. M. d'Aguesseau went to Frenes, and the Seals were given to M. d'Armenonville. He who was most severely dealt with, was the Duke of Noailles, the most formidable enemy of Dubois, because he had till then enjoyed the greatest share in the confidence of the Regent. He was banished an hundred and fifty leagues from Paris, to a ruinous house, in which there was not even one habitable room. Several other persons who had been always attached to the Regent, and had been the favourite confidants, as well of his pleasures as of his affairs, were at the same time banished. The favourites were not a little surpris'd to find themselves treated in the same manner as those who had been recommended only by their usefulness.

There was only one other person at whom he could take umbrage, and whom it was necessary for him either to gain or to ruin. This was Marshal Villeroy, governor to Lewis XV. In this employment he had acted in respect to the young Monarch in a manner not at all agreeable to the Regent; which, however, he bore with for the sake of peace. Whenever the Regent approached the young Monarch, the governor always set himself between them. He never would suffer the Regent to converse with his pupil by himself; and if he at any time attempted to whisper any thing to young Lewis, Villeroy always thrust his head between them,
to

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to listen. He seemed to believe himself, and thus persuaded others, that these precautions, so indiscreet towards the Regent, were necessary for the safety of his pupil. This authority, exercised with a degree of haughtiness, in the presence of the whole Court, and apparently with the consent of his pupil, gave the Governor a degree of consequence which increased as the Monarch advanced nearer to the period of majority. 'It was of importance to the Cardinal, therefore, not to venture the last step, till he had secured himself against any disturbance from Marshal Villeroy, who might encourage a great many others, who would not of themselves dare to murmur. The Governor, at the head of such a party, might so tease and perplex the Regent as to put the Cardinal in danger of being no sooner elevated than degraded, and of falling back into a situation less respectable than that which he already occupied.'

Accordingly Dubois, either with a view to gain the favour of Villeroy, or to ensnare him, pretended to court his good graces, with great assiduity, and caused Cardinal Bissy, their common friend, to speak to him in his favour. St Simon repeats at great length all the rhetorical flourishes used upon the occasion by the smooth tongued negociator. He reproached the Marshal gently, for receiving the advances of the Cardinal so ungraciously; mentioned what esteem Dubois entertained for his knowledge and abilities;

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abilities ; represented how much he wished to please him, and to conduct himself in the administration by his direction and advice ; and concluded with offering to bring Dubois to wait upon him, and to give him the same assurances with his own mouth. At last, the good Governor was so effectually cajoled, that he proposed, of himself, to accompany Bissy to Cardinal Dubois.

‘ They waited upon him on a Tuesday. It
‘ was the day on which he gave audience to fo-
‘ reign ministers. The attendants proposed to
‘ inform the Cardinal immediately of a circum-
‘ stance so important as Marshal Villeroi coming
‘ to wait upon him ; but the Marshal would not
‘ allow ; and waited till the Cardinal should be at
‘ leisure. Dubois happening to conduct an ambas-
‘ sador out of his closet, observed Villeroi, and
‘ approaching him instantly, paid his respects
‘ to him in the most flattering and submissive
‘ manner, and carried Bissy and him together
‘ into his closet, making an apology to the Am-
‘ bassadors, that the Governor’s necessary atten-
‘ dance upon his Majesty, did not permit him
‘ to wait. A profusion of compliments and
‘ professions of respect passed between them at
‘ first.’ The Marshal has said since, that the
Cardinal wished him to persuade the King to
approve of his elevation to the post of prime Mi-
nister, and even to present him to the young
Monarch, and that he importuned him, till
he at last became angry and impatient, and
disagreeable

disagreeable scene followed between them. PART IV.

‘ Most probably,’ says St Simon, ‘ The Governor used harsh phrases, and awkward compliments, piqued himself on frankness and plain dealing, on speaking truths, which appeared to the Cardinal indiscreet and insolent.’

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‘ Dubois, much surpris’d, made at first as if he did not understand him. Bissy attempted to interfere, and to persuade the Marshal, that he had no intention of giving offence. But Villeroi only became the more irritated, and proceeded to more injurious and reproachful language. Bissy in vain laboured to pacify him, and represented to him, how unbecoming it was to use a man so ill in his own house, especially when his intention in waiting upon him, was solely to confirm the reconciliation which had already taken place between them. All that he could say, only inflamed the Governor’s rage, and prompted him to utter whatever contempt and spite could suggest. Dubois remained in extreme confusion, without answering a word. From reproach the Marshal proceeded to threats and derision. ‘ However,’ said he to Dubois, “ however, as I have now laid myself open, we can no longer forgive one another. I warn you, therefore, that I shall, sooner or later, do my worst against you. But, at the same time, and with the same candour, let me give you a piece of advice. You are, at

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“ present

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“ present all powerful ; every thing yields before you ; nothing can resist your authority. “ Take my advice, and avail yourself of your power. Arrest me, if you dare. Yes, arrest me. This is the only part you can take.’ “ This was accompanied with a new torrent of abuse, which Bissy could not put a stop to. At last he seized him raving, by the arm, opened the door, and pushed him out ; Dubois, more dead than alive, followed him the best way he could. But, with all their endeavours to compose themselves, every one among the Ambassadors saw plainly, that something extraordinary had passed, and it soon became the subject of conversation.

‘ I was with the Regent that day, and engaged upon business with him in his cabinet. Dubois came in abruptly. ‘ I am undone,’ cried he, in a transport of rage, with his eyes starting from his head. ‘ I am undone ;’ and at the same time related the above incident, with all possible volubility. We strove to calm him. But without listening to us, he addressed the Duke of Orleans in the following words : ‘ After an insult of this nature offered to me, you must instantly consider what you can, and what you will do. Chuse between the Marshal and me. I declare to you, that I will no more intermeddle in any affair, nor continue at Court, if he be suffered to remain.” After uttering these words, he retired*.’

This

* St Simon, t. 5. p. 123.

This scene, which Villeroi was at no pains to conceal, but rather boasted of, occasioned different consultations, at the Duke of Orleans's. It was generally considered as an insult to the Prince in the person of one whom Villeroi knew to be intrusted with his power; a defiance, a bravado, addressed in reality to himself. It was, said they, drawing his sword, in a manner, against the Regent; and a resolution was accordingly formed, not to suffer a man to remain any longer about the King, who, after having always been the secret enemy of his Royal Highness, at last threw off the mask, and purposed no less than to erect one altar in opposition to another. But St Simon represented, that they should beware of affording room for thinking, that Villeroi's disgrace was owing to the insult offered to the Cardinal. 'The public,' said he, 'does not love, but hate him. The victim will be thought too illustrious; the punishment will cause the injury to be overlooked. In cases where a violent part is to be taken, however necessary it may be, we should always take care to have both reason and fair appearances on our side.'

After these judicious reflections it was agreed, that several days should first pass, and that the Regent should seek some means of causing Villeroi to indulge his obstinacy and haughtiness towards himself. He did so; every thing was provided against; another Governor chosen*,

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'the

* St Simon refused the place, because his attachment to the Regent might have made him suspected.

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‘ the necessary orders given, and the day fixed.
 ‘ The Regent waited on the King, at his Majesty’s return from his afternoon’s walk, for the
 ‘ dispatch of the usual business. It consisted in
 ‘ communicating to the young Monarch the distribution made of vacant employments, benefices, intendancies, and rewards of all kinds;
 ‘ and in explaining to him in few words the reasons of choice and preference, as well as informing him of the political news before they
 ‘ became public.

‘ When this conversation, at which Marshal
 ‘ Villeroy always assisted, and sometimes even
 ‘ the Bishop of Frejus, was over, the Duke of
 ‘ Orleans begged the King to accompany him
 ‘ into another room, as he had something to
 ‘ communicate to him by himself. The Governor instantly forbade. The Regent, who held
 ‘ out this as a snare for him, politely remonstrated, that the King was so near the age at
 ‘ which he would assume the reins of government into his own hands, that it was now time
 ‘ for him who held his power in trust, to give
 ‘ him an account of things which he was qualified to understand, but which could not be explained to him in the presence of a third person. I entreat you, therefore, continued the
 ‘ Prince, no longer to oppose what is so indispensably necessary. I am perhaps to blame
 ‘ for not beginning sooner, and nothing but
 ‘ complaisance to you has prevented me hitherto.

‘ to. The Marshal replied, that he knew what
 ‘ respect was due to his Royal Highness, but
 ‘ was equally sensible of the duties and o-
 ‘ bligations incumbent on himself, as governor
 ‘ to the King; and that these did not allow of
 ‘ his permitting any person to speak to his Maje-
 ‘ sty in private, without taking care to know
 ‘ what passed, and allowed still less of his suffer-
 ‘ ing the King to be conducted out of his sight,
 ‘ as he was at all times responsible for his Royal
 ‘ person.

‘ The Regent, upon this, turned his eye
 ‘ sternly upon him, and replied, ‘ You forget
 ‘ yourself, Sir, you should think to whom you
 ‘ speak, and be more guarded in your language.
 ‘ I can scarce persuade myself, that you mean
 ‘ any thing malicious. Respect for his Maje-
 ‘ sty forbids me to reply to your insinuations, or
 ‘ to continue the conversation farther.’ He then
 ‘ made a profound bow to the King, and reti-
 ‘ red. The Marshal, following him, uttered
 ‘ some words in answer, which the Regent seem-
 ‘ ed not to hear, and the King remained in
 ‘ great surprise.

‘ The tone in which the Duke of Orleans
 ‘ spoke, made an impression on the Governor,
 ‘ as had been expected; and within less than
 ‘ two hours after, it was known, that Villeroi,
 ‘ boasting of what he had done, had added, that
 ‘ he should think himself very unhappy, were
 ‘ the Prince to imagine, that he was disposed to

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‘ fail in his duty to him, and that, in reality,
‘ he had no other view but to fulfil the most
‘ important branch of his charge, and would,
‘ next morning, wait on his Highness to ex-
‘ plain the reasons of his conduct in a manner
‘ which, he hoped, would be satisfactory. This
‘ was what was wanted.

‘ Next day, the 30th of August, he actually
‘ waited upon the Regent, but was told, when
‘ he asked to see him, that he was in his closet,
‘ and busy. He advanced to the closet door, of
‘ purpose to enter. La Fare, captain of the
‘ Duke’s guards, then appeared and demanded
‘ his sword. Immediately he was seized, hurri-
‘ ed into a carriage, conducted in haste through
‘ the gardens of Versailles, then removed into
‘ another carriage, and conveyed in a few hours,
‘ under a guard of musqueteers, to his own seat
‘ of Villeroy.’

The Regent was a good deal at a loss how to communicate this affair to the King. The young Prince, when first informed of it, blushed, hid his face, kept a sullen silence, would neither play nor go abroad, eat only a few morsels to supper, and scarcely slept during the night. Next day a new confusion arose, when M. de Fleury, his preceptor, was found to be missing. It was then perceived more plainly than ever, by the excess of his grief, what a strong attachment the young Monarch had formed to his two guardians, and how necessary their presence was

to

to the preservation of his life. The Prelate had disappeared suddenly. Couriers were sent out into all quarters to search for him, and he was, at length, accidentally discovered at a seat of M. de Lamoignon's, a few leagues distant. The King and the Regent wrote to him. Without requiring a great deal of entreaty, he returned; and, under the Duke de Charost, the new governor, resumed the care of the King's education, which restored tranquillity.

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The reason of his sudden retreat came afterwards to be known. When the Duke of Maine was disgraced, the Marshal and the Bishop had promised each other, that if the one were dismissed, the other should follow him; and Villeroy, accordingly, was not at all satisfied with the speedy return of Fleury, who persuaded himself, that, by his short retreat, he had fulfilled his engagements. The exile expressed his dissatisfaction in a letter, in which it would appear, that there was more keenness of reproach than prudence. The Bishop of Frejus put an instant stop to the correspondence, by the following reply: 'I return you your letter; I have not been able to read it. In God's name let the secret rest between us, lest the public come to know, that the King has had a governor who could not write, and a preceptor who could not read.' The Marshal, who had imagined, that the slightest attack upon him would put all France into commotion, found

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himself

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himself entirely deserted. Scarce a person went to visit Villeroi. And, as in the depth of his mortification, he used no caution either in his words or actions, he was thought still too near the Court, and was accordingly sent to Lyons, of the province belonging to which he was governor, with external marks of an authority which was secretly very much confined. Thus was the field left open to the Cardinal.

It would be a vain labour to detail the efforts which his Eminence continued to make, in order to confirm and increase his influence with the Regent. It is well known what an ambitious man is capable of at the critical period when his fate is about to be decided. But the perplexity, the distress of the Duke of Orleans, when he felt himself unfit for vicious pursuits, yet still irresistibly allured by the enticements of vice, and formed resolutions, of which he was ashamed, but which, at the same time, he could not prevail with himself to retract,—are not to be passed over in silence. An instance of the sadness and dissatisfaction which pursue indulgence in licentious pleasures!

‘ At your age,’ said St Simon to him, ‘ and
‘ with your abilities for government, what rea-
‘ sons can you have for resigning, in a manner,
‘ the Regency, and transferring your whole au-
‘ thority to another? What will the French
‘ nation think; what will strangers say of such
‘ a resignation of your power! What reasons
‘ can

‘ can you hold out for it ?’ ‘ None,’ returned
 ‘ the Prince, ‘ but that I am weary of business,
 “ and of the constraint in which I am forced to
 “ live at Versailles, where I feel myself entirely
 “ at a loss how to spend my evenings. At Pa-
 “ ris I could, at least, after business or the opera,
 “ indulge in joyous supper parties, who were en-
 “ tirely subject to my pleasures. But to have my
 “ head confounded all day with business, and
 “ the evenings oppressed with languor and cha-
 “ grin, is more than I am equal to ; and it is
 “ for this reason, that I have determined to turn
 “ all over upon a first Minister, which will leave
 “ me at peace by day, and allow me to go to
 “ Paris, to divert myself in the evening.’ ‘ Ex-
 ‘ cellent reason,’ replied St Simon, laughing,
 ‘ no reply can be made to this.’ ‘ Laugh as
 “ much as you please,’ returned the Prince,
 “ you know nothing of my fatigues by day, or
 “ of the tedious dulness of my evenings.’ And
 ‘ what hinders you,’ answered St Simon, ‘ from
 ‘ taking suitable amusements at present,—you
 ‘ who are Regent of the kingdom, who have so
 ‘ much genius, so much knowledge, and can
 ‘ command such good company, whenever you
 ‘ think proper ! You have only to signify your
 ‘ wishes. Prefer men of decent manners to li-
 ‘ bertines, and you may, every night, have a
 ‘ gay party at supper. All that is witty or a-
 ‘ miable about Court, will eagerly court admis-
 ‘ sion, if once sure that they will not be con-
 ‘ founded

PART IV. 'founded with base, obscure persons, by whose
 1722. 'familiarity they would be disgraced.

'Suppers such as yours,' continued I, perceiving that he listened without impatience, 'suppers, such as yours, at which noise and indecency prevail, from which modesty and propriety are banished, where a Prince descends from his dignity, amidst intemperance and riot, are excesses that can scarce be pardoned in the first effervescence of youth.' 'That I deny not,' said he, 'I will even confess to you, that good cheer is indifferent to me; wine I nauseate, and other pleasures are not less disagreeable or insipid.' 'What!' cried I, 'you undo yourself for things that afford you no enjoyment? What becomes of your good sense and experience? What gain you by feelings which have ceased to seduce you astray, and now force you to listen to reason, in spite of yourself? What now remains for you but the lot of those wretched old debauchees, who have at last no enjoyment, but the poor gratification which the recollection of their brutal indulgences affords, when suggested by coarse and obscene language?'

'I thus tried to rouse some virtuous energy in a soul inflamed by vice and passion. But in vain. At the close of this conversation, I, at his own desire, set before him the dangers to which he might expose himself by creating a first Minister; and, while I imagined, that he

'was

‘ was listening to me with attention, he arose, PART IV.
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‘ and after looking me in the face, with an air of
‘ restlessness, dissatisfaction, and even conscious
‘ shame, walked about for a few moments in silence ; then turning half towards me, but without bending his eye upon me, said in a low and melancholy tone, ‘ I must put an end to this “ uncertainty, and declare him minister.’ I rising in my turn, replied, ‘ Your Highness has “ no commands for me ?’ He cried, ‘ Shall not I “ see you soon ?’ Without making any reply, I ‘ shut the door behind me, and went instantly ‘ to Meudon, where I then lived, to lament in ‘ private the misfortune of a Prince, who, though ‘ humane, generous, and adorned with all the ‘ best qualities of both the heart and the understanding, condemned himself to inactivity, upon no better pretence than that he might give ‘ himself up to vicious indulgence, which he ‘ could no longer relish.’ On the 21st of August, Dubois was declared prime Minister, and in this character presented to the King by the Duke of Orleans.

Hitherto the Cardinal had been afraid, that his secret, if prematurely discovered, might produce remonstrances to the Regent, by which his Highness might be induced to change his intention. For this reason he had concealed it, even from Armenonville, Keeper of the Seals, whose services were, notwithstanding, necessary to him. When the papers came to be sealed,
his

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his Eminence employed the Count de Maurepas, Minister for the marine department, a young man of the age of twenty, to present them for that purpose. De Maurepas having received his lesson, waited upon the Lord Keeper with the papers in his hand. 'I have a favour to ask of you,' said he, 'in the name of the Cardinal, which he begs that you will not refuse. Be so good as to sign these papers without reading them.' D'Armenonville, surprised at such a request, replied, that he would not seal them, without knowing what they contained. Maurepas insisted, and the Keeper of the Seals persisted in his refusal. At length the Count, weary of fruitless entreaty, retired; and as he was shutting the door behind him, said, 'Think well of this matter, Sir, for if you continue obstinate, there is another ready to do what you refuse.' This threat prevailed over the firmness of Armenonville. He called back the Cardinal's messenger, and sealed the letters without looking into them *.

Except when transported by his sallies of passion, so as not to be master of himself, Dubois appears to have shewn sufficient rectitude of intention in every other instance. Villars says, 'that whenever he had no separate business from that of the State, he seemed to devote himself totally to its service, strove to obtain the approbation of persons of worth and credit, and

* Related to M. D. L. S. by M. de Maurepas himself.

‘ and was ready to punish rascals, as he himself said ;’ which, however, was rather an extraordinary way of talking for a minister, who was at the same time at the head of the French administration, and a pensioner to the English. PART IV.

Lewis XV. who had been consecrated at Rheims, on the 25th of October last year, was declared major by the Parliament on the 2d of February, in a Bed of Justice ; a ceremony, says St Pierre, not a little tiresome to the speakers, and he might have added, to those who are obliged to hear them. On this occasion I shall say a few words about the young Monarch. The Duke of Orleans, when he waited upon him to pay his compliments, on the morning of the coronation-day, asked what was his Majesty’s pleasure, in respect to the exiles. ‘ I have sent no person into exile,’ said the King. An answer which might sometimes be made by kings to their ministers with sufficient truth, even after they have attained the years of majority. Within a few days the legitimated princes were restored to their honours, and to all their privileges, except the right of succeeding to the throne : But with this they were not satisfied.

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The King
of age.

Every thing succeeded to the Cardinal’s wishes : The regulations which he introduced into the different branches of the administration, were deserving of the public approbation. And if he had any sensibility for true glory, he could not but felicitate himself, that his administration was likely

Death of
Cardinal
Dubois.

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likely to be so advantageous to the kingdom. But, in the month of August in this year, an old complaint which he had long concealed, attacked him with new violence. It was an imposthume in his secret parts. His danger was so extreme, that he had no alternative but to undergo a painful operation, or prepare for certain death. And the physicians did not even promise, that the operation would save his life; which caused the sick person to hesitate about submitting to it.

From the time when his danger was made known to him, he continued in an unremitting transport of rage and impatience. He sent, however, to Versailles, for a Recollect Friar, and spent about a quarter of an hour in private with him. A man of his virtue had no need for a longer conversation with his Confessor. Besides, dispatch in confession is a characteristic and a privilege of Ministers of State*. The sacred viaticum was then offered to him. 'That is easy said,' cried he, 'but is there not a particular ceremonial for Cardinals? I know it not; send to Cardinal Bissy.' In the meantime he was entreated to submit to the operation. He had at first almost given his consent, but afterwards refused. The Duke of Orleans was informed, and came from Meudon, on purpose to prevail with him. It was performed with great dexterity; but it was too late. The gangrene had now spread itself. The sacrament of Extreme Unction was administered to him, and he died within

twenty-

* Alluding to the confession of Cardinal Mazarine.

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‘ twenty-four hours after, on the 10th of August, at the age of sixty-six. Thus had fortune conducted him through such a multitude of toils, labours, cares, projects, and anxieties, to the dignity of prime Minister, to enjoy it only for one year.

‘ His riches were found to be immense ; a vast quantity of silver plate of the most exquisite workmanship, the most magnificent furniture, jewels of great rarity, curiosities of art from every different country, and the most splendid equipages. His table was sumptuous and elegant ; he did the honours of it in a very becoming manner, although with great sobriety. He left eleven hundred thousand livres in ready money, which was scarcely one year of his income ; for St Simon states his yearly income at fourteen hundred and fifty-four thousand livres, and enumerates the sources from which he drew it*. He intended to have

* The Archbishop of Cambray,		120,000 livres
Abbasies of	{ Nogent sous Coucy,	10,000
	{ St Just,	10,000
	{ Airvaux,	12,000
	{ Bourgueil,	12,000
	{ Berg-St Vincox,	60,000
	{ Cercamp,	20,000
Salary as prime Minister,		150,000
As Postmaster-General,		100,000
Pension from England,		960,000
		1,454,000
Besides his pension as a Cardinal, being		20,000
And upon the Hotel de Ville about		30,000
Total,		1,504,000

Together with a grant of 300,000 livres upon the Post office.

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have joined to his livings in the Church, the abbacies of Premontre, Citeaux, Cluny, with the other principal abbacies in the kingdom, by which he would have become a sort of Patriarch in France, and would have revived a project formerly conceived by Richelieu.

All his wealth fell into the hands of his brother, a modest man, who had only one son, Canon of St Honoré, who would never accept any other living. A part of the ready money was laid out by the nephew, upon a mausoleum to his uncle in the church of St Honoré, in which he was interred *. The rest he distributed very liberally among the poor. As Archbishop, Cardinal and prime Minister, Dubois had many solemn services performed for him. But his friends durst, on no pretence, hazard a funeral oration.

Duke of
Orleans
prime Minister.

As soon as he was dead, the Duke of Orleans resumed the reins of government, in quality of prime Minister. He had, perhaps, repented more than once of having ever delegated his power to another. It was observed, that he eagerly recalled those courtiers whom the Cardinal had caused him to banish from Court. ‘ Some people conjectured, with a great shew of probability, that if his master had contradicted his will, when he was prime Minister, the Cardinal might have infused such suspicions into the mind of the young King, as would have occasioned
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* He is represented in his Cardinal’s robes, and upon his knees.

the dismissal of the Duke of Orleans himself.

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Defects in
the admini-
stration of
Dubois.

The new minister found many abuses to reform, and much to be done that had been neglected. Dubois, according to St Simon, was rather a man of intrigue, than of business. There was not room in his head for more than one thing at a time. He trifled away much of his time in listening to the reports of his spies, whom he had placed about all the nobles, even about the Duke of Orleans himself. Every thing gave place to those. The foreign ministers complained loudly, that they were treated with neglect. Except at his public audiences, occasions when no business can ever be brought to a termination, those who wished to speak with him, could scarce find any opportunity. He once threw a great parcel of letters all together into the flames, with the seals unbroken, exclaiming at the same time, with great satisfaction, 'This is dispatch in business.'

As if, by the death of Dubois, the charm had been broken by which the Duke of Orleans had been confined in indolent inactivity; he now applied to business; and, if he did not entirely reform of his libertinism, yet ceased to indulge in the same open and excessive debauchery as before, and confined himself to one mistress: A degree of moderation in vice, which the depravity of modern manners hath caused to be regarded as a virtue in some men of rank. This Prince was

Good qualities of the
Duke of
Orleans.

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amiable, gallant, generous, of the most obliging manners, and thus formed to win the hearts of those who knew him. So sensible was Madame de Maintenon of the ascendancy which he acquired by his fascinating manners, over the minds of those whom he seduced, that she refused to admit into a Convent under her protection, a young lady of quality, whose virtue had yielded to his passion. ‘She would come among you,’ said she to the ladies of the Convent, ‘overwhelmed with despair, inflamed with passion, proud, and gaudy, in a word, still a slave to the world, and even to criminal desire. And I must declare, that such a character appears to me of dangerous example, for an Abbess not above the age of thirty, and nine young ladies of St Cyr, who are with you.’ She could not believe, that the sentiments impressed by this Prince were to be so easily effaced. ‘Many persons,’ continued she, ‘look upon her as but imperfectly converted. If, after a thorough conversion, she express a desire to come among you, I shall make no opposition to it; but, to be sure of the reality of her conversion, I should require many more years than you will allow me days.’ St Simon speaks of another lady of quality whose family, proud of the severity of their manners, boasted in the morning, that she had determined to retire to a life of penitence, and those who went in the evening, to congratulate her, found her with the Duke of Orleans.

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‘ There was a great difference found between the two ministers. The Duke of Orleans was patient, affable, complaisant. He listened to those who addressed him, with an air of goodness, which was absolutely enchanting. Even a denial from him scarce gave pain. He appeared to suffer himself, when he could not satisfy those who solicited him for any favour. His eye, tho’ quick and keen, was, at the same time, soft and bewitching. And, notwithstanding the unhappy effects of the System, by which so many fortunes had been ruined, he was not merely loved, but adored by the citizens of Paris. Whenever he went out of the Palais-Royal, whenever he came in, they crowded round him; they ran with eagerness to the public places, where they hoped to see him *. Foreign ministers valued themselves upon the polite attentions which he shewed them. They admired the rectitude of his judgment, his penetration, his political address, his dexterity in unravelling the intricacies of business, the neatness and precision with which he explained his sentiments, the reserve with which he put his questions, and the art and propriety of his replies. The young King was so pleased with the respect and attention which the Duke invariably shewed him, with his frankness, and with the gaiety which he blended through instructive conversation, that, although he often spoke of him, it was never but with esteem and

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Qualities
which made
him respect-
ed.

G g 2

affection

* Related by eye-witnesses.

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His death.

affection during his life, and with regret after his death *.

A stroke of apoplexy deprived him in an instant of all recollection, and carried him off in six hours illness, at the age of forty-nine, too early for France, which was beginning to become happy under his administration.

The Duke of Bourbon was now named prime-Minister. The events which followed, might afford matter for a curious and interesting work. It would shew those who had been accustomed to interrogate prisoners under the Regency, sent to the Bastille in their turn; a famine which the people in their despair imagined to have been produced by the Minister, in order to turn it to his own advantage, and which proved not less injurious to the nation than the System; the disgrace and exile of the Duke of Bourbon, accomplished by the party of the legitimated princes, whom he had formerly caused to be disgraced and banished. These revolutions lead to the wise administration of Cardinal Fleury, to which, though his contemporaries sometimes refused just praise, yet posterity will, every day, pay a higher tribute of gratitude and esteem.

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* Lewis XV. shewed his regard for the Regent's memory, by his kindness on all occasions to his widow. When he came to Paris, after his illness at Metz, he did not fail to visit the Dutches of Orleans at the Palais-Royal.

The ETIQUETTE observed by LEWIS XIV.

AS what I have had chiefly in view, is to describe the private life of Lewis XIV. I imagine it will not be improper to relate here in what manner he divided his time, the ceremonial which he observed in his Court, and his ordinary employments for the day. St Simon remarks, that we sometimes regret, that historians take not the pains to collect facts of this nature, which, though they may appear trivial to cotemporaries, become objects of curious research with posterity, and contribute more than any thing else to give a just idea of the characters of Princes. It may happen, too, he adds, that such details may teach monarchs to respect themselves, and to beware of committing actions which they would fear to have known to the world.

I shall take Lewis, not in his youth, when the impetuosity of passion might hinder him from following any uniform plan of conduct, but in that period of life when permanent habits are imperceptibly contracted. I shall copy the very words of St Simon.

‘ I shall relate what I saw myself, for the last two and twenty years of Lewis XIV.’s reign, and what was seen, before my time, by many others. At eight in the morning, the first valet

PART IV. de chambre, who slept by himself in his Majesty's room, awaked the king. The first physician, the first surgeon, and his nurse, who lived to be very old, then entered. His nurse embraced him; the others enquired into the state of his health. At a quarter after eight, the principal chamberlain, or in his absence, the first gentleman for the year was called. One of these withdrew the curtain, which till now remained close, presented the holy water, and the service-book, and then all retired into the Council-chamber. After his devotions, which were very soon over, the King called them back. The same person, who had presented the holy water, now gave his Majesty his *robe de chambre*. Papers were then offered to be read or signed. The persons of the chief distinction about Court were then admitted; and, after them, all who were known to the King.

The King dressed himself almost entirely without assistance, and with great dexterity and address. Out of regard to propriety, he never appeared, even in bed, or upon any occasion whatever, without a small peruke upon his head. He used no dressing-table, only a looking-glass was held before him. He generally wore brown of some shade or other; often black velvet slightly embroidered, but without spangles, and an embroidered vest of red or white silk or satin. He wore no rings, and no jewels, except in his buckles and on his hat, which was always edged with

with gold lace, and adorned with a white feather. His blue ribbon he always wore under, except upon *gala* and marriage-days, when he wore it above, and had it very long, with eight or ten millions worth of jewels. He was the only person in the Court that wore it ordinarily under. The Princes of the Blood, and the other Knights of the Order, did not imitate him in this.

‘ When dressed, he said prayers: All the clergy about him, Cardinals as well as others, kneeling at the same time. The laity stood. After prayer, he retired to his closet, where he found all those waiting who were entitled from their situation at Court, to the privilege of entering his closet, and of whom there were a great number. He there gave his orders for the day, so that every person could know to within a quarter of an hour, what the King was to do, and what they themselves were to do. Every person then retired, except the royal children, their governors, and those who enjoyed his Majesty’s familiarity. Then entered by a back passage, and not through the chamber, the surveyors of the buildings, gardens, and other matters of taste and pleasure. Now was the time for requests for all persons who had any favours to ask. Sometimes, too, he gave particular audiences at this time, which were called *secret*, by way of distinguishing them from others, called *private audiences*.

‘ During these conversations, or audiences, all the Court attended at Versailles in the galle-

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ry; at Marly, Trianon, and Meudon, in the forerooms; at Fontainebleau in the chamber and anti-chamber, till such time as the King signified that he was going to mass; the Captain of the Guard being in waiting at the door, came in and attended his Majesty to the Chapel. In the Chapel his behaviour was devout and respectful. At the *Sanctus* every person kneeled, and continued in that posture till the priest communicated. The smallest noise attracted his Majesty's notice, and always moved his displeasure. As he was going to and returning from mass, any person might speak to him; only it was necessary for such as were not of high rank, to inform the Captain of the Guards first.

‘ During mass, the ministers assembled in the Council-chamber. Till his Majesty returned, others might enter and converse with them. But the King went straight from the Council to the Chapel. Thus passed the morning.

‘ The Council of State always met upon Sunday, and often on Monday; the Council for the Finances on Tuesday; the Council of State again on Wednesday; and on Saturday, the Council for the Finances. The Council scarce ever assembled twice in the same day, and seldom at all upon Thursday or Friday. Once or twice a month, a Council for dispatches met upon Monday morning. The orders which the Secretaries of State sometimes received in the morning, between the levee and mass, contributed greatly to
abridge

abridge the business of his Council. All the Ministers sat according to the rank of their offices. But in the Council, they every one stood except Monsieur, Monseigneur, and the Duke of Burgundy, when they were present, which never happened unless in the case of affairs which had been previously before the Counsellors of State. Sometimes the Councils for dispatches and for the finances met on purpose for one particular piece of business, and no other but that was mentioned. The Secretaries of State, being Counsellors, were seated. A Master of Requests reported, standing. And both he and the Counsellors of State were always in their robes.

‘ On Thursday morning there was almost no business. This was the day for secret audiences, family conversations, and the inspection of domestic concerns. On Friday the Confessor attended, and nothing else intervened before dinner. At Trianon and Marly, the King usually passed from mass to Madame de Maintenon’s apartments, if she had not gone in the morning to St Cyr. These private interviews were not to be interrupted. At Fontainebleau he passed the time with her till dinner: One o’clock was his usual hour of dinner; but for hunting or walking it was hastened or put back. When the Council sat late in the morning, dinner was also delayed. He sometimes continued busy with one or two of the ministers after the Council broke up.

The

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‘ The King dined by himself in his chamber. His dinner consisted of three courses without fruit. The table was brought into the chamber ; the principal courtiers entered at the same time, and with them all who were known about Court. The first gentleman for the year served his Majesty at table, when the Grand Chamberlain was not present. M. de Gevres, Duke de Tremes, one day pretended, that if the Grand Chamberlain, did not enter till after his Majesty had been seated at dinner, he could not serve for that time. But it was decided against him. I have seen M. de Bouillon, Grand Chamberlain, appear, in the middle of dinner. The Duke de Beauvilliers, first gentleman, offered to give place to him. He politely refused, under pretence of a rheumatism, and M. de Beauvilliers continued to serve ; but this was by the courtesy of M. de Bouillon.

‘ I have seen, although not often, the Dauphin and his sons standing at a separate table, without being desired to sit by his Majesty, any more than the Princes of the Blood. I have often seen Monsieur coming out of the Council of Dispatches, when he entered, presenting a plate to his Majesty, and continuing standing. The King, when he saw that he did not walk away, would ask him to sit ; Monsieur bowed, and the King ordered a seat to be brought for him. A stool was set : The King then said, sit down, Brother ; Monsieur again bowed, sat down, and continued sitting till the King had dined.

dined. At other times, when he came to St Cloud, the King would ask him to dine. If he accepted his Majesty's invitation, a cover was laid for him, not directly opposite to the King's, but upon a corner of the table. The first Gentleman, or Grand Chamberlain, who served the King, likewise served Monsieur, and Monsieur received his service with the greatest politeness. When he was at dinner, he enlivened the conversation. The King commonly spoke very little, unless some favourite Noblemen were present, with whom he chose to chat. He seldom had music during dinner, unless at great festivals, or at Fontainebleau. No Lady attended: I have seen, but very seldom, Lady Marshal de la Motte enter; and she had retained the custom of doing so, from the time when she was Governess to the Royal children. Whenever she made her appearance, a seat was set for her, and she sat down.

' The King, immediately after rising from dinner, returned into his closet. Persons of distinction had now an opportunity of speaking to him, and he stopped at the door to hear them. It was seldom that any person followed him into his closet; and when this was permitted, he took you to the window nearest the door, which was instantly shut. The first physician only, who had attended at dinner, followed, by privilege, into the apartments where were those who enjoyed his Majesty's familiarity. The King would sometimes
amuse

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amuse himself a few minutes with feeding a lap-dog, chatting carelessly with those about him. When he went a-hunting, he changed his dress, and went down into the marble court to go into his carriage. As he went down, he spoke to any person who was known to him, and behaved in the same manner as he returned.

‘ Lewis XIV. loved much to enjoy the fresh air: The want of it was very injurious to his health, and subjected him to head-achs, and to the vapours. Being very little affected by extreme heat, by cold, or by rain, only the most intemperate weather could hinder him from going abroad. On Sundays and Holidays, and when he did not chuse to go out a-hunting, he would shoot in the park; and no man in France aimed surer, or more gracefully. Once a-week, at least, and at Marly and Fontainebleau more than once, he used to chase the stag. Blue mounted with red, with a galloon of silver between two of gold, was his uniform. At hunting the King wished to see a certain number of his courtiers, but not too many, as too great a number occasioned a confusion in the chase. He thought it ridiculous for any person who was not fond of hunting to attend him to the chase; and was not displeased at those who, having no passion for the diversion, did not attend him when he engaged in it. Neither at the chase, nor elsewhere, was he well pleased to see the company leave him abruptly. He always saluted the Ladies, looked upon

upon the crowd with a kind and gracious air, PART IV. and never said any thing disobliging.

‘ He went often to overlook his workmen, and to walk in his gardens. He sometimes carried the Ladies into the forest, and caused a collation to be brought after. His walks round the canal at Fontainebleau were a splendid sight, especially to those who were on the opposite side, and saw them reflected from the water. He was, on such occasions, attended by the whole Court, on foot, on horseback, or in open carriages. When he went to Trianon or Marly, only for a walk, nobody was covered in his presence ; but when he slept and spent some days there, he would say aloud, when he went out of the palace, ‘ Your hats, Gentlemen ;’ and immediately courtiers, officers, guards, and superintendants of the buildings, put all on their hats.

‘ At Marly he was pleased to see the courtiers constantly engaged at play at a number of tables. He would go about from one table to another, to see how they went on ; but scarce ever played himself, except when the evenings were long, with a few Ladies, and a little at commerce, when they were about to break up. He had once been very dexterous at bowls and billiards.

‘ On days on which there was no meeting of the Council, unless these were meager days, he went to Marly or Trianon, to dine with Madame de Maintenon, the Dutchess of Burgundy, and

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and other Ladies. When he rose from table, the minister who was to do business with him attended ; and after the business was transacted, if he did not walk out, he engaged in conversation, listened to music, amused himself at play, or presided at the drawing of lotteries, the tickets of which cost nothing, but were all prizes. The prizes consisted of stuffs for the use of the Ladies, and various toys ; but among these were no snuff-boxes ; for he could not endure snuff, nor even suffer persons who made use of it to come near him. In his youth he had been very fond of perfumes ; but that of orange flowers was the only one which he now relished. Madame de Maintenon always gave away immediately whatever she gained at these lotteries.

‘ In summer, the King did business at Marly with his Ministers, in the same manner as has been already related. In winter he also did business with them in Madame de Maintenon’s apartments : But before going thither, when he returned from walking or hunting, and had changed his dress, he used to spend some time in his closet, hearing reports concerning affairs of importance, writing such letters or notes as he chose to make out himself, and reading memoirs. He seldom read any thing else. He then went to Madame de Maintenon’s apartments, where he found the Minister waiting, whom he wished to see at that time, and him he would seldom dismiss before supper. It is to be observed,

observed, that when he was returning from walking or hunting, and when he went to or returned from Madame de Maintenon's, address him who would, he always gave audience, and even stopped to listen. PART IV.

‘ At ten, the Master of the Household went to call the Captain of the Guards, who was in the antichamber of Madame de Maintenon. He then appeared at the chamber-door; and the King, after remaining about a quarter of an hour with Madame de Maintenon, went to supper, which was served in great state, and accompanied with music. At Versailles, none but the children of the Royal Family sat with him at supper. At other places, Ladies were admitted to the same honour; but never Gentlemen, except the Princes, when any of them was entertained on his marriage-day, by the King. There was always a numerous and well dressed circle round the table; especially if the Court was next day to remove to Marly. The Ladies who desired to visit that Royal Seat, sought to make themselves be taken notice of; and this was called presenting themselves for Marly. The Gentlemen made the request in the morning in these two words, ‘ Sire, Marly.’ This form, although short, was sufficient; a page noted down the names of those who presented themselves; and in the morning notice was given to those who were chosen for the companions of the expedition. After supper the King went to his chamber, continued standing for a few minutes with all his Court

PART IV. Court about him, and then bowing to the ladies, retired to his closet. He continued there with his family about an hour, sitting himself in one chair, and Monsieur in another; for in private he treated him with the familiarity of a brother. Monseigneur and the rest stood or sat upon stools. The Ladies of Honour to the Princesses, and the Ladies of the Palace waited with the Gentlemen of the Court in a room adjoining. At Fontainebleau, the ladies were admitted into the circle, and either stood, or if there were seats, sat down; but, except the Princes, no other gentlemen were ever admitted. The conversation turned upon indifferent matters. The King, before retiring to rest, went to feed his dogs, and when he returned, said prayers in his chamber; after which he appeared only to bid the company good night. As they were going out he placed himself, standing, by the chimney, and gave his orders: Then followed the *petit-coucher*. Those who attended might now speak to him about matters of importance, provided that they could express what they had to say in a very few words. Ten or twelve years before the King's death, the *petit-coucher* was discontinued, and the Court broke up immediately after supper. On the days on which his Majesty took physic, which returned every month, he attended mass after taking it. Thro' his whole life he hardly ever neglected this practice, except when it was impossible; as sometimes,

times, when he was in the army. Monseigneur and the Royal Family paid him a very short visit; then the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse, waited upon him. The former usually staid a short time. Madame de Maintenon passed the morning beside him, sitting upon an elbow chair at the head of his bed. When she was not present, Monseigneur sometimes seated himself in it: Others stood, except the Duke of Maine, who having a weakness in one of his legs, sat upon a stool at the foot of the bed. These were the most favourable moments for him, when he did, said, and obtained whatever he pleased. The King dined in his bed about three o'clock, in the presence of his Court, then arose, went into his closet, when he would sometimes hold a Council, and thence to Madame de Maintenon's apartments as usual, and at ten sat down to supper in state.

A few days before Lent, the King gave public notice at his levee, that he should be highly displeased if any person were served with any dishes, but such as the rules of the Church permitted during that period, and ordered the *Grand Prevot* to see that due attention was paid to his orders. None durst disobey this prohibition. It extended even to Paris, where the Lieutenant of the Police was directed to observe how far it was obeyed, and give his Majesty an account. As he advanced in life, he reduced the term of Lent first to four meager days,

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and then to three, with the four last of the Holy Week. On the other days his table was always more sparingly served. Through that week, supper was merely a collation. On Sunday, nothing appeared but fish, and five or six other dishes for himself and such others as were allowed this indulgence by the direction of their physicians. On Good Friday nothing but vegetables appeared either on his own, or on any other table.

‘He hardly ever neglected to hear sermon during Easter and Christmas, and used to listen with a degree of attention which afforded great encouragement to the preacher, and edification to the audience. He never omitted any act of devotion through the Holy Week. On Thursday he served the poor at dinner. After supper he retired directly into his closet to pray, and went thence to bed without assembling the Court about him. He was equally observant of the duties of religion at the high festivals; the two processions of the Holy Host, and those of the order of the Holy Ghost, and of the Assumption.

‘The King always communicated five times in the year. After receiving the Sacrament, he heard a low mass, which was not accompanied with music, and ended with touching those who presented themselves to be cured of the King’s evil. On those days he used to attend evening prayers,

prayers, after which he employed himself in his closet with his Confessor, in settling the distribution of benefices. He was seldom known to give away a benefice at any other time. He went to *Matins* and to midnight mass with music, and next day to high mass, and to the other public services. PART IV.

‘The Knights of the Holy Ghost had been accustomed to go to the offering, and to communicate in the full dress of their order: But Lewis very wisely laid aside the taking of the sacrament, which was both dangerous and terrible to the Courtiers, and had been introduced by Henry III. with the intention of keeping the Huguenots at a distance: However, he might have retained the offering, which was a sublime ceremony, and not have reserved it to himself alone, any more than the full dress of the order.

‘In the army, the division of his time was regulated by the necessity of affairs; only the Councils were regularly held at a stated time. Neither morning nor evening did the King admit to his table any but persons whose quality entitled them to that honour. They were to ask it as a favour, through the first gentleman. He gave his answer, and if it was favourable, they next day presented themselves before his Majesty, when he sat down to dinner; he would then say, ‘Sit down, Sir.’ He who had once obtained this favour, continued ever after to en-

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joy it, unless he abused it, by availing himself of it too frequently.

‘Even the military rank of Lieutenant-General did not entitle any person to admission to his Majesty’s table. M. de Vauban, after being for many years a Lieutenant-General of great distinction, was admitted to his Majesty’s table for the first time in 1692, at the close of the second siege of Namur. Colonels of high quality were, without difficulty, admitted to this honour. At Namur, the King shewed the same respect to Abbé Grancey, who exposed himself to danger with a degree of heroism, in confessing those who were wounded, and encouraging the troops. He was the only Abbé to whom this honour was granted. Of the clergy none were usually admitted but Cardinals, those Bishops who were likewise Peers, and Ecclesiastics who ranked as foreign Princes. M. de Coislin, Bishop of Orleans, before he was made a Cardinal, while he was Grand Almoner, saw his brothers seated at the King’s table, without presuming to claim the same honour to himself. Le Tellier, Archbishop of Rheims, who, as Master of the Chapel, also attended the King to the army, was invited to the King’s table; nor were any of the officers of the Life-guards admitted, except the Captain, with whatever distinction the King might treat them upon other occasions. He, however, granted this favour once to the Marquis d’Urfé, for what reason I could not learn. None of the
regiment

regiment of Guards but the Colonel ever obtained it.

‘ No person was uncovered at these meals ; this would have been considered as want of respect to the King, and immediately taken notice of. The King alone sat without his hat. You took off your hat when the King spoke to you, or when you addressed him. You only touched it with your hand in saluting those who came to pay their court, after dinner was begun. You uncovered also in speaking to Monsieur or Monseigneur, and when they spoke to you. Even in the army, Marshals of France did not take their place above Dukes: The Dukes and foreign Princes, or persons who ranked as foreign Princes, sat together, without distinction, just as it happened.’

The above detail, which applies more or less to all Princes, shews, that they have scarce any time which they can call their own. The slavery and restraint to which their birth and rank unavoidably subject them, caused Madame de Maintenon to say, that ‘ they are, from their very cradles, heirs of spleen and fatigues.’ They would be miserable, if of a character to wish to live by themselves.

In reading this history, too, it will appear, with what fidelity Bruyere has drawn his characters; he had the originals from which he drew them under his eye, and with him we must acknowledge, that ‘ in both Court and City, the

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' same passions, the same caprices, the same mean
 ' arts, and the same contentions among relations
 ' and neighbours, prevail; quarrels, jealousies,
 ' prejudices, rancour, backbiting, and scandal,
 ' everywhere appear. At Court, indeed,
 ' people hate one another with greater haughti-
 ' ness, and, perhaps, with greater dignity; they
 ' injure one another with more artful dexterity
 ' and deeper address; their resentment is more
 ' eloquent; they abuse one another in better lan-
 ' guage; but, although they use fair terms, no less
 ' offence is given, nor less scandal spread. Vice
 ' there wears a specious outside, but is, at bottom,
 ' just as bad as elsewhere.' ' There is a coun-
 ' try,' observes he in another place, ' where joy
 ' appears on every countenance; but it is unreal;
 ' dissatisfaction is scarce ever openly expressed,
 ' but almost continually felt. Splendid shews,
 ' entertainments, balls, festivals, the chace, and
 ' other diversions, for the most part, serve only
 ' to conceal interests, passions, cares, fears, hopes,
 ' and inquietudes.' Hence we may conclude,
 with this philosopher, ' That he who has seen
 ' the Court, has seen the gayest and most pom-
 ' pous scenes which society affords; but that,
 ' after having seen them, a sound mind, instead
 ' of being captivated with the sight, will rather
 ' conceive a new relish for retirement and soli-
 ' tude.'

NOTE

NOTE from the Political Annals of the Abbé de ST PIERRE, on the Establishments and Imposts of LEWIS XIV. PART IV.

The Establishments instituted by Lewis XIV. were almost all formed in the first seven and twenty years of his reign. They have been noticed in the course of the preceding history, but the reader will probably not be displeased to see them here brought together in a chronological list.

1663.

Pensions settled upon learned foreigners.

1664.

The East India Company formed.

The Academies for sculpture and painting instituted.

The Canal of Languedoc begun, which joins the two seas. It was opened for navigation in 1680.

1665.

The Manufactories of tapestry at the Gobelins; of fine broad-cloth at Elbeuf, of French lace at Paris; and of glass, first at Cherburg, and afterwards at St Gobin.

The costs of law-suits, which had become excessive, fixed.

The *Journal de Savans* begun.

1666.

The Academy of Sciences instituted.

1667.

Reformation of the *Droit François*.

The Observatory.

H h 4

1668.

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1668.

The city of Paris paved, lighted, and cleaned, in consequence of orders issued for the removal of filth. The augmentation of the foot and horse patrol.

Chambers instituted for purging the provinces of pretended nobles, whose exemption from taxation rendered the taxes more burdensome to those on whom they fell.

1669.

Decree relative to waters and forests, for the preservation of wood, and the benefit of the navy.

1670.

Criminal code.

Declaration in favour of foundlings.

1671.

Building for the reception of invalids.

Academy of architecture.

Learned Frenchmen sent into Asia and Africa, to purchase books, and make useful researches and discoveries.

The King's library enlarged.

Imposts, and Offices created. Increase of the Revenue and Loans.

Loans upon annuities, the creation of posts and offices, and the increase of the revenue, by heightening the price of offices before established, are taxes in disguise, which sooner or later change into open avowed taxes.

When

When the King borrows, or creates new offices, or requires an addition to the Revenue upon the old, it is to supply some exigencies; and the money thus raised is ever after applied to the same uses.

But when the sums which were borrowed to supply any pressing want, have disappeared, the interest must still be paid.

What adds to these inconveniences is, that ready money is necessary, and taxes and other expedients bring it but slowly in. The Farmers-General are accordingly applied to, who advance the sum at enormous interest, and reimburse themselves besides, by levying the taxes with oppressive rigour.

Enormous debts are thus contracted, such as were due at the end of the reign of Lewis XIV. the progress of which is explained in the following detail of particulars.

The torrent of taxes burst forth in the course of the war against Holland, and spread over all France; so that no possession of what kind soever escaped its impetuosity.

1672.

Institution of an office in every Bailiwick and Sherifffdom, for the registration. The expensive dues of this registration caused the institution to be regarded much in the same light as a new tax, and it did not pass unopposed.

1674.

Creation of eight new Masters of Requests.

Offices

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Offices of Excise.

Taxes upon the Officers of Justice.

Upon tin, gold and silver plate, and bills of exchange.

More than three hundred petty offices at the gates and extremities of Paris.

New *Procureurs*.

Taxes on tobacco.

Upon consignments.

Upon wood of Normandy.

In name of terce and teind.

A million in annuities upon the City. This proved afterwards the easiest and least burdensome of all the taxes.

1675.

The impost upon stamped paper, which occasioned an insurrection at Rennes and Bourdeaux.

Taxes upon such as had acquired Church lands.

Another million upon the Hotel de Ville de Paris.

Another million of annuities, which the Officers of Justice were compelled to purchase.

1677.

The tax upon the control heightened.

A million raised by annuities upon the City.

1679.

Two millions in annuities upon the City. The Abbé de St Pierre remarks, that this loan of forty millions was chiefly for the building of Versailles. ‘ It would have been enough to enable ‘ the King to discern, whether he acted in this ‘ matter with justice towards his subjects only ‘ to

‘ to have put the question to himself : Were I a PART IV.
 ‘ subject should I be well satisfied, to see the King
 ‘ expend such great sums in building at my ex-
 ‘ pence? Is it just in him to lay out my pro-
 ‘ perty in gratifying such costly whims?’

1680.

Another million upon the City for Versailles,
 and the fortifications.

1681.

Two millions more upon the City ; the officers
 pay for the same purpose.

1683.

Taxes upon small islands, formed by rivers ;
 an imposition very burdensome to many.

Five hundred thousand livres in annuities up-
 on the City. No more beneficial establishments
 were now formed : Colbert was dead.

1684.

Under PELLETIER.

Five hundred thousand livres raised upon offi-
 ces, of which the salaries were proportionally in-
 creased.

A million in annuities upon the City.

Twelve hundred thousand livres upon the aids
 and gabel-duties.

A capital sum of fifty-four millions for fortifi-
 cations and buildings, by which the State was
 burdened with two millions, and five hundred
 thousand livres of additional annuities.

1688.

A million upon the Hotel de Ville.

1689.

PART IV.

1689.

Under PONTCHARTRAIN.

Nineteen edicts taxing tobacco, consignments, liquors, money, silver-plate, leather, &c. were issued.

The creation of other annuities,—some for one life,—others to continue,—new salaries to officers,—new employments in the Revenue,—Masters of Requests,—*Greffiers and Procureurs*.

1690.

Twenty-two edicts imposing Taxes.

1691.

More than eighty of the same sort, ‘by which
‘more than eighty thousand families were af-
‘flicted.’

1692.

Fifty-five edicts.

1693.

More than sixty edicts, ‘of which the least
‘oppressive were those which established annui-
‘ties payable upon the farms.’

1694.

Seventy declarations of different Taxes.
‘Pontchartrain was fertile in expedients.’

1695.

The Capitation. ‘It was feared that the im-
‘position of this new tax would be ill received
‘by the people; but its necessity being known,
‘I can witness that they received it with joy,’
says the Abbé de St Pierre. It amounted to
twenty-two millions.

1696.

1696.

Some edicts of Taxation, but not many, as the capitation offered a supply.

1697.

Some edicts of the same kind, for the payment of the debts contracted in the war.

1701.

Under CHAMILLART.

The capitation, which had been suppressed in 1698, re-established.

Augmentation of salaries,—annuities upon the farms,—coinage of money.

Every week edicts of taxation,—annuities; Nobles and Knights created in Flanders,—new sums raised upon the City, at about 6 *per cent.* new salaries.

Bank for Loans.

Sale of the employment of Commissaries to the Navy to the highest bidders.

1703.

Creation of great and petty offices.

1704.

Creation of eight Inspectors General of the Navy, an hundred Commissaries for the Fleet, and eight Commissaries to supply provisions.

Order to receive, for ready money, bills on which from twelve to fifteen *per cent.* was lost.

PART IV.

A number of edicts and *arrets* of the Council of Finances which proved extremely vexatious.

1705.

Revocation of exemptions from the poll-tax.
 ‘ The revocation was just; but those who had
 ‘ purchased the privilege, should have been com-
 ‘ pensated, and no others favoured with it. Ex-
 ‘ emptions of this nature are so many chinks
 ‘ through which the revenues of the State e-
 ‘ scape and are lost: They grow in time larger;
 ‘ and are really sources of fraud.’

1706.

Many edicts for the creation of certain Offices.

1707.

Under DESMARETS.

A contract with the Clergy. Abbé de St Pierre is of opinion, that either none should be made with the Clergy, or none with the Nobility.

There were now State Bills for an hundred and seventy-three millions of money. Those who had payments to make, were authorised to pay one-third in bills, and two-thirds in specie, which was now one-third less in quantity, in consequence of the rise of the value of money; and thus he who had lent two hundred thousand francs, was repaid with one hundred thousand. Thus the loss fell upon those who were most œconomical.

‘ Desmarets endeavoured to support himself
 ‘ by the farmers of the Revenue, allowing them
 ‘ greater

‘ greater gains than any of his predecessors had PART IV.
 ‘ done, in the hopes of making them in due
 ‘ time give up a part of their plunder. Colbert
 ‘ also allowed them profits, because people who
 ‘ deal with the King ought to have profits, but
 ‘ only moderate profits; but there was no
 ‘ Chamber of Justice after his death.’

1708.

New offices,—augmentation of Salaries,—creation of Funds.

1710.

The tenth. It produced at first ten millions.

1712.

Five hundred thousand livres, at about 8 *per cent.* raised upon the poll-tax, and payable in annuities. ‘ A good method; for, with the interest, a part of the capital is paid up every year.’

1714.

Five hundred thousand livres of annuities at about 6 *per cent.* raised in May, upon stamp-duties.

The same sum in the month of August, payable in seventeen years.

Threescore thousand livres at 5 *per cent.* payable in twenty years by the States of Brittany.

The value of these taxes it is not easy to ascertain exactly, because the value of money suffered so many variations in the Reign of Lewis XIV. that a tax, which in 1660 produced

PART IV. duced only one million, would produce nearly two millions in 1715. By the same causes the revenues of the State have since that period risen progressively to near twice as much.

This notwithstanding, from the Memoir presented to the Regent by M. Desmarets, when he resigned the office of Comptroller General, the debts of the State in bills, of which the validity was allowed, amounted, in September 1715, to 491,814,442 livres. In this state he does not include the funds, of which the interest was payable by the City, the salaries of offices, and various other things, which would greatly increase this load of debt. Accordingly, the public debt, at the death of Lewis XIV. might amount almost to what is stated by M. de Voltaire, *viz.* the vast sum of two thousand and six hundred millions.

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